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STEPPING-STONES
OF
AMERICAN HISTORY

STEPPING-STONES

OF

AMERICAN HISTORY

BY FOURTEEN WRITERS, EMINENT
AS EDUCATORS, HISTORIANS,
AND STATESMEN

PICTURES IN COLOR BY FRANK C. SMALL



W. A. WILDE COMPANY
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STEPPING-STONES OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

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NOTE

IN presenting this volume we wish to call particular attention to the character and motif of the book.

Its aim is to present in a clear, concise, and interesting manner the salient points of our early American history. After consultation with educational authorities, a list of fourteen subjects was selected, which seemed to represent the foundation stones in our history, from the discovery of our country down to the forming of the national government.

In order that these subjects might be treated in the most advantageous manner, the greatest care was taken in the selection of the contributors — writers whose names stand as authorities on the various topics.

The pictures accompanying each article are in color, and are based upon the most noteworthy event of the period.

That this volume may serve the purpose for which it was intended is the sincere desire of the publishers.

1926
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THE EUROPEAN EXPLORERS

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THE EUROPEAN EXPLORERS

COLUMBUS discovered America in 1492. From that time for more than one hundred years various explorers and travellers were seeking the New World for land and gold. The first permanent English settlement in America was made at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, and, therefore, we may think of the time from 1492 to 1607 as the "Period of Discovery and Exploration." It was a period of bold enterprise and daring venture.

It may seem strange that so many years were allowed to pass by after the discovery of Columbus before the country was permanently settled and owned. The rival nations — the Spanish and the French, the English and the Dutch — were all seeking, by exploration and discovery, to secure for themselves possessions in America. But they were not looking for homes and settlements; they were not thinking of building new states in the New World. They were out for adventure, and for new dominions for their kings, with their rich fabrics and mines of silver and gold. Gold-seeking was the predominant motive of the early explorers; they had



no spirit for the slow, patient process of home-building in a new country.

The greatest man in this great period of exploration was Christopher Columbus. In all the history of discovery and of the seafaring life of man probably no one has won greater fame than Columbus. As it was by faith Abraham left his home for a country that he knew not of, so it was by faith Columbus discovered a new world. He had the faith that removes mountains, — the mountains of difficulties and obstacles that were thrown in his path. He *believed*, and it was counted unto him for fame, honor, and renown. He believed in what no man had yet known by experience, — that the world was round (though he knew little of its size), and that if he should sail for the West, he would reach the East and the wonderful wealth of India and Cathay.

Columbus was born, most likely, in 1446. Little is known of his early life and education; but when he was fourteen he went to sea, and from that time for the best part of thirty years he was a sea-rover, having experiences in venturesome expeditions which made him a bold and intrepid seaman. Between voyages he was a book-maker and a map-seller, and he seems to have studied much about the shape and size of the earth. For a while after 1470 Columbus lived at Lisbon, then the centre of geographical learning, the greatest market for maps and charts. Prince Henry of Portugal had made his country

famous in maritime expedition and achievement, and the Prince had gathered about him at his capital brave spirits like himself who longed to venture for discovery in unknown seas. There Columbus studied and read of what other travellers had done before him. For we must remember that before any great man can do his work some one must have gone before to prepare the way.

Travellers and explorers had, indeed, gone before Columbus, and they had brought back wonderful and exaggerated accounts of what they had seen in the East; and map-makers and geographers had published books, and it was these that had led Columbus to think that he could find the East by sailing to the West. Marco Polo, an Italian traveller, had spent many years in China, and when he returned to Europe he told wonderful stories of the wealth and glories of the Great Khan, — who had “a great palace roofed with gold, with pavements and floors entirely of gold, like slabs of stone, a good two fingers thick.” Marco Polo’s book about China and Japan (which he called “Cipango”) was published in 1299, and it was a very great contribution to geographical knowledge.

In the next century the “Voyage and Travels of Sir John Mandeville” appeared. Sir John is generally regarded as a great impostor because of the stories that he told of what he saw and did, stories which we know now could never have been true. He told of “pillars of gold, and precious stones half

a foot in length, of golden birds that flapped their wings by magic, of golden vines laden with costly jewels"; and it was he who told of the wonderful fountain of perpetual youth whose waters, if one should drink of them thrice, would make an old man forever young. He said he had drank three times from this spring himself, and "evermore since that time I feel that I am better and haler." Sir John's wonderful stories were read with eagerness by the men of his time, especially by the bold sailors and explorers who were anxious to see for themselves the lands of which he told. One of his suggestions found lodgment, no doubt, in the mind of young Columbus, for Mandeville had said that there were "men all round the world, and we and the men who dwell under us be feet against feet." That is, they were our antipodes. "In the North," said Mandeville, "the South lodestar is not seen, and in the South the North star is not seen." Here was another suggestion of a round world.

Other suggestions must have come to Columbus as he pored over his "Cyclopædia of Geographical Knowledge," by which he came to know the beliefs of all the geographical writers of antiquity and of the Middle Ages. But everywhere in Columbus's age, which was an age of ignorance and superstition, people had the notion that the unknown regions were peopled with monsters ready to devour any who approached, — sea-serpents that could lift ships out of the sea, or drag them down to destruction.

In the regions of the equator, it was thought, the sea was so thick and slimy that ships could not sail, — the torrid sun had sucked up all the moisture; and the reason that the setting sun in the west seemed so red was because it looked down into the hot place below. It was from sailors with such fantastic ideas and fears that Columbus had to recruit his ships for discovery.

But the document that influenced Columbus most was the famous letter of Toscanelli, a Florentine philosopher and astronomer. In this letter, written about 1474 at the request of the Portuguese king for suggestions as to the shortest route to India, Toscanelli urged that China and Japan could be reached by sailing west, and he calculated that a voyage of three thousand miles westward would bring a sailor from Europe to Asia. He was mistaken, not so much as to the size of the world, as to the size of Asia, for he extended that continent so as to bring Japan east of Mexico. But these ideas of Toscanelli were, as we know, the ideas of Columbus until the day of his death, for the great discoverer died in the belief that he had found a route to India and the East. Toscanelli also spoke of the magnificent wealth of the Orient, of Cipango's abundance of precious stones and metals, of the "temples and royal palaces that were covered with plates of gold." So we see how full the people's minds were of the fabulous wealth to be found if their ships could only reach the East.

After reading Toscanelli's letter Columbus gave himself up to the idea of finding India by crossing the Atlantic. His trials and discouragements in going from court to court seeking aid, from England, Portugal, and Spain, and how he was finally fitted out by the gracious kindness of Queen Isabella of Spain, — all this is a familiar story. He was at last successful, and three small ships were ready for the wonderful voyage.

It was early in the morning of Friday, August 3, 1492, that Columbus set sail on his memorable voyage of discovery. After so many years of baffled efforts and hopes, the great sailor was elated to think that he was now fairly launched on his great enterprise. But it was far from smooth sailing that he had before him. They were only three days out when the rudder of the *Pinta* was disabled. Columbus suspected that her owners, who had been pressed to the voyage, had disabled their vessel in order that they might be left behind. The damage detained them three weeks in the Canary Islands, where the *Pinta* was repaired for the long voyage. While he was here upon the sea frontier of Europe, before it was too late to turn back, Columbus was fearful that some event — panic, mutiny, or superstition in his ships — might still prevent his voyage, before he could reach the unknown sea in the region of discovery. As the Canaries faded from view, it is said the hearts of the crew failed them. It was to them like taking leave of the world. "Behind

them was everything dear to the heart of man — country, family, friends, life itself; before them everything was chaos, mystery, and peril. The sailors shed tears and broke into loud lamentations.” Columbus sought to encourage his men and to take their minds away from their fears. He appealed to their imagination, telling them of the magnificent countries to which they were going, the islands of the Indian seas teeming with gold and precious stones, with cities of unrivalled wealth and splendor. He appealed to their cupidity, promising them land and gold and riches.

Columbus foresaw that the terrors of the seamen would increase as they got farther from home. He therefore resorted to the stratagem of two reckonings — one correct, for his own guidance, the other open to inspection, from which a number of leagues were daily subtracted from the ship’s sailings. So the crews were kept in ignorance of the real distance they had gone.

On September 11 the voyagers saw part of a dismantled mast upon the sea; perhaps land was near. On the 14th of September a heron and a wag-tail flew by. These water-birds were not supposed to venture far to sea; certainly land must be near. The next night a meteor fell into the sea, like a great flame of fire. This seemed like a good omen, for good weather settled upon them and the trade winds, blowing from east to west near the tropics, drove them steadily for several days over a peaceful and

unruffled sea. Columbus compared the balmy mornings to those of spring in Andalusia, and only the song of the nightingale was needed to complete the dream. The air was temperate and soft, the sky was clear, and there seemed to be a sweet fragrance sent forth from the distant groves upon the land. Soon they came to seaweed drifting from the west, increasing in quantity as they advanced. Some of the weeds were yellow, but some were green, and these certainly had lately come from the land. Columbus had heard that there was a part of the ocean covered with vast fields of weeds, and he felt that he had now come to this weedy sea from which any ancient sailor would have turned back in dismay. Land did not appear as he expected, but he determined to keep his prow to the westward until he reached the coast of India for which he had set out. The men were getting very uneasy, though of the real distance they had gone they did not know. They knew only that they had gone farther than man had ever sailed before. Columbus sounded with a line of two hundred fathoms, but found no bottom. Still they pressed westward into what seemed a boundless abyss, with nothing but sea and sky before them. The wind continuing so constantly from the east, the sailors feared it would never permit their return to Spain. On September 20 the wind veered to the southwest, and this, with the visit of some birds to the ship, cheered the sailors' hearts. On September 25 they were sure they saw

land; they fell on their knees and gave thanks to God. But the land they saw was nothing but distant clouds. Every day something beckoned them on. A story has been told of these last stages of Columbus's voyage that the commander had to use great skill and tact to prevent his crew from combining in mutiny, and taking charge of the vessel to turn her homeward. It has been said that at one time the sailors had formed the purpose of throwing Columbus into the sea and declaring that he had fallen overboard while taking an observation. At another time, it is said, Columbus found himself bound to promise that unless land was discovered within three days, he would turn about and sail for home. These stories are now mostly discredited, for Columbus says nothing about them, and they have not been verified by subsequent investigation. But we may be sure he had trials enough on the long, uncertain voyage before the notable 12th of October, 1492, when, at two o'clock in the morning, land was first sighted off the shore of San Salvador.

The landing of Columbus has been made the subject of the painter's art. The great discoverer is represented as wearing complete armor with crimson over it, and carrying in his hand the Spanish flag, with its ominous hues of gold and blood; his captains each bore a banner with a green cross and the initials F and Y for "Ferdinand" and "Ysabel," surmounted by their respective crowns for Aragon and Castile. They fell upon their knees, chanted the

Te Deum, and then with due formalities took possession of the island in behalf of the Spanish sovereigns.¹

Columbus made three other voyages to America. In 1493 he discovered Hayti. On his third voyage, in 1498, he discovered the mainland of South America at the mouth of the Orinoco River, but he still thought it was a part of Asia. By July, 1499, Vasco da Gama, the great Portuguese navigator, had doubled the Cape of Good Hope and had returned from Hindustan to Portugal with ships laden with the riches of the East. He had the hard cash, and his fame threw that of Columbus into the shade for a time. The object now was to get to the Indian Ocean, and interest in the eastern coast of Asia died away for a while. The fourth voyage of Columbus was in response to this voyage of Da Gama; it was an attempt to get from the Atlantic into the Indian Ocean.²

Columbus died in Spain in 1506, poor, neglected, and broken-hearted. As he had brought back no riches and gold from the East, the kings and people had little care what became of Columbus.

Columbus was not even destined to give his name to the New World. The name of America was to come from another Italian voyager sailing under the flag of Spain, Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine navigator whose name must always be closely associated with that of Columbus. He probably reached the

¹ Higginson, "Larger History of the United States."

² Fiske, "Discovery of America," p. 91.

mainland of America about as soon as Columbus, and he was the first definitely to describe his own and others' discoveries. But the greater honor belongs to Columbus, for after he had reached the outlying islands, all else was but a question of time, albeit of much danger and uncertainty.

It must be remembered that for many years the men of Europe thought the new discoveries lay along the coast of China, like a projection of Asia. Even after permanent settlements were made in Florida, in Virginia, and in New England, explorers sought to find some short way through these lands up the bays and rivers, in order to reach India. Early stories of Virginia tell of expeditions up the James and Chickahominy rivers to find a passage to the "South Sea," or Pacific Ocean; and Henry Hudson, the English explorer, sailing under the Dutch flag, after discovering the Hudson River (1614), lost his life in the region of the Hudson Bay in a vain effort to find a northwest passage to China. It was many years before the size and importance of America dawned upon Europe.

The Spanish flag was carried by another great sailor and explorer to whom belongs the honor of doing what Columbus tried in vain to do, — finding a route to India and the East. In 1519 Ferdinand Magellan started on one of the greatest exploring voyages of history. He discovered the strait that bears his name, sailed boldly through by Cape Horn, crossed the broad Pacific, and reached the

East Indies. Magellan discovered the Philippine Islands, which he named after his king. There he was killed by the natives, but one of his vessels sailed on to Spain, accomplishing, for the first time in history, the circumnavigation of the globe. It was a great feat in navigation, and illustrated the venturesome and exploring spirit of the Spanish people of that time.

In 1512 another Spaniard, Ponce de Leon, seeking the "fountain of perpetual youth," discovered, on Easter Sunday, a land of flowers which he called Florida. The next year, in 1513, Balboa, another Spaniard, looked out from one of the peaks on the Isthmus of Darien and discovered the Pacific Ocean; and tradition tells how he waded into the sea and struck the great ocean with his sword, taking possession of all its shores and islands in the name of the king of Spain.

In 1539 De Soto, another Spaniard, began his long march through the southern section of what is now the United States, and in 1541 he made his famous discovery of the Mississippi, in whose waters he was buried.

These discoveries and explorations helped to prepare the way for the Spanish empire in America, — an empire which was laid by the conquest of Mexico by Cortès in 1519–1521, and of Peru by Pizarro in 1531–1533. Spain has now lost every vestige of her American dominion; yet only one hundred years ago she held all of South America and a large

part of North America. East and West Florida along the Gulf of Mexico to the Mississippi; from the Mississippi to the Pacific, and from the British dominions to Patagonia,—all belonged to Spain. But the Spanish made no self-reliant settlements, and Spain governed her colonies, not for the benefit of the governed, but in her own interest, for the enrichment of a ruling oligarchy at home; and consequently all that her great explorers won she lost by misrule.

Frenchmen accomplished but little for exploration in the sixteenth century. The best blood and energies of France were being absorbed and wasted in her religious wars. But the New World was hardly known before the bold fishermen of Brittany discovered the fisheries of Newfoundland. In 1524 Verrazzano, another Italian, sailing under the flag of France, explored the eastern coast of North America. Verrazzano first sighted land off the coast of North Carolina,—“a newe land never before seen by any man ancient or moderne.” Verrazzano’s descriptions of the coast are of great geographical interest, for he sailed northward as far as Newfoundland, putting in at many harbors, and he left on record the earliest description of the whole region. What became of Verrazzano is not known. Some assert that he was killed and eaten by the savages, and others that he was hanged by the Spaniards as a pirate.

Verrazzano’s accounts inspired a greater sailor

than himself. This was Jacques Cartier, the discoverer of the St. Lawrence in 1534. Cartier had visited Labrador, and had for years been on fishing voyages from St. Malo, the great nursery of French seamen. In 1534 Cartier visited Newfoundland and the Bay of Chaleur, setting up a cross at Gaspé, "to serve as a beacon," as he shrewdly informed the natives. He then sailed up the St. Lawrence, supposing that at last he had discovered the long sought passage to China and India. He gave the name of Canada to the banks of the St. Lawrence; and he sailed on up the river to the sites of Quebec and Montreal. This exploration, together with that of Verrazzano, became the basis for the claims of "New France" in America, and Cartier opened up the way to the voyages and explorations of the Jesuit Fathers, Marquette, Joliet, and of La Salle, in the century following.

The French first made a permanent settlement in America at Port Royal, Nova Scotia, in 1605. French colonists had attempted a settlement in Florida in 1564, but they were murdered in cold blood by the Spaniards, and the French were thus prevented from gaining a foothold in the southern part of the United States, and between Canada and Florida. The greater part of the American seaboard was left open for the settlement of English colonists and the founding of an English-speaking nation.

Another French name should be mentioned in this period of exploration, a name that has been stamped upon our map in the beautiful lake which he was the first to describe. This was Champlain, and in many respects he is the most interesting of the French *voyageurs*. Mr. Higginson says the character of the *voyageur* lay behind all the early French enterprises. "It implied those roving qualities which led the French to be pioneers in the fisheries and the fur trade; and which, even after the arrival of the Jesuit missionaries, still prevailed under the blessing of the Church. The Spaniards were gloomy despots; the Dutch and Swedes were traders; the English, at least in New England, were religious enthusiasts; the French were *voyageurs*, and even under the narrative of the most heroic and saintly priest we see something of the same spirit."

Champlain was one of the *voyageurs*, high-minded and devout. He had visited the Spanish settlements in the south, and was much impressed by their cruelty to the natives. He then turned his attention to the northern regions, where the Spaniards had not come. He explored the rivers in companionship with the Indians, eating and sleeping with them, and learning all their habits as they were in their native wilds untouched by white civilization. Champlain was a colonizer as well as an explorer. He founded Quebec in 1608. He discovered Lake Champlain in 1609, and

Lake Huron in 1615. He was the first to reveal to the Indians the terrible power of firearms. He was one of the first among men to suggest a ship-canal across the Isthmus of Panama. He was the first great promoter of "French and Indian" alliance, afterwards so dreaded in war by the English. Champlain has told a story and drawn a picture of the first stages of this friendly relation of the French to the Indian. He and his Algonquin allies marched together against the Iroquois. His Indians told him if he could only kill three particular chiefs, they would win the day. The Iroquois approached with the three plumed chiefs in front. Champlain, "halting within thirty paces of the enemy, rested his musket against his cheek and aimed at one of the chiefs. The musket — a short weapon, then called an arquebus — was loaded with four balls. Two chiefs fell dead, and another man was mortally wounded. The effect upon the Iroquois must have been like that of fire from heaven. These chiefs were dressed in armor made of cotton fibre, and arrow-proof, yet they died in an instant! The courage of the whole band gave way, and when another Frenchman fired a shot from the woods, they all turned and fled precipitately, abandoning camp and provisions, — a whole tribe, and that one of the bravest, routed by two shots from French muskets. This was in July, 1609.¹

¹ Higginson, "Larger History," p. 133.

Thus the Indians were taking their first lessons in the military art, and thus the French were gaining prestige and favor with the Indians. "If the control of the New World," says Higginson, "could have been secured solely through the friendship and confidence of its native tribes, North America would have been wholly French to-day."

But we must turn to the English, who were the greatest colonizers, though not the greatest discoverers of the New World.

The story of the English in America begins with the Cabots, John and his son Sebastian. John Cabot, like Columbus and so many other bold navigators of his day, was an Italian by birth. Soon after the first voyage of Columbus the Spanish ambassador in London wrote to his king: "A person has come, like Columbus, to propose to the king of England an enterprise like that of the Indies." This was John Cabot. He and his sons were authorized "to sail to the east, west, or north, with five ships, carrying the English flag, to seek and discover all the islands, countries, regions, or provinces of pagans in whatever part of the world." The king was to have one-fifth of the profits of the enterprise.

The Cabots sailed from Bristol early in May, 1497, going to the north in order to avoid conflict with the Spanish and the Portuguese. By the end of July they had returned to Bristol, having dis-

covered the mainland off Labrador, and King Henry VII gave "to hym that founde the new isle" the magnificent sum of £10. When it is remembered that it was on the discovery of John Cabot that England afterward based her claim to the whole continent of North America, \$50 will not seem like a large share of the proceeds to offer to the sailor. It was supposed that Cabot had discovered the Kingdom of the Great Khan; honors were heaped upon him; he was called the "Grand Admiral"; "he is dressed in silk, and the English run after him like madmen."

In 1498 a second expedition was designed by Cabot, to return to the point where he had found land, then to proceed southward, — where he could certainly find the wealthy island of Cipango. This was conducted by Sebastian Cabot, who explored a good part of North America, and he seems to have been the first to announce, what it took the Old World so long to learn, that a "New Found Land" lay as a barrier between Europe and America. Thus, in one sense, Sebastian Cabot may be said to have been the discoverer of America.

For nearly fifty years after the Cabots English seamen hardly crossed the Atlantic. America was looked on as a possession of Spain, and it was chiefly New France that was disputing possession. It was the slave-trade that led to the next English voyages. The demand for slaves in the Portuguese plantations and the Spanish mines tempted the cupidity

of the English trader. John Hawkins, an old seaman, whose father had been in the Guinea trade, took a cargo of slaves and sold them in the ports of Hispaniola in 1562. When we remember that the slave-trade is now outlawed as piracy throughout the world, it seems strange to us how very pious these slave-traders were. When Hawkins barely escaped with his life in his heinous attempt to enslave the whole population of a town in Sierra Leone, he said: "God who maketh all things for the best would not have it so, and by Him wee escaped without danger; His name be prayed for it." When his slave ship was becalmed and suffered from want of water he said: "But Almighty God, who never suffereth his elect to perish, sent us the Breeze which is the north-west winde." So Hawkins sold his slaves religiously to the Spanish colonies, though he knew it was against the law of Spain, if not against the law of God, for Spain wanted all this nefarious trade for herself. But Hawkins kept up his slave voyages until he came across a Spanish fleet stronger than his own, in the port of San Juan de Ulloa. The Spanish attacked, and the English were utterly defeated; some of Hawkins's vessels were sunk, and others were driven to sea without provisions. Hawkins himself thus tells the story: "With many sorrowful hearts wee wandered in an unknown sea by the space of fourteene days, tyll hunger enforced vs to seek the lande, for birds were thought very good meate; rattes, cattles, mise, and

dogges, none escaped that might be gotten, parrotes and monkayes that were had in great prize were thought then very profitable, if they served the turn one dinner." Some may find retributive justice in the fact that before he and his crew got back to England they became almost as wretched as the many negroes they had kidnapped and sold.

Sir Francis Drake, the greatest English sailor of his time, followed up the work of Hawkins in seeking Spanish trade and treasure. As against the Spaniards Drake was little less than a pirate and a buccaneer. He made it his business to plunder the Spanish, and, like Hawkins, he scrupled at nothing and feared nothing. Protestant England was at war with Catholic Spain, and the English seamen had learned that the way to reach Spain was to reach out for her rich possessions in South America and West India. Drake made repeated trips to the American coast, and in 1573 "he looked for the first time on the Pacific from the top of a tree in Panama. He resolved to become the pioneer of England on that ocean where the English flag had never yet floated, and he asked the blessing of God on this enterprise."¹ In 1577 he embarked for the purpose of taking Peru from the Spaniards, and in this expedition, known as the "famous voyage of Drake," he completed the first English circumnavigation of the globe.²

¹ Higginson.

² The reader should read Kingsley's "Westward Ho!" for an account of the exciting achievements of these early seamen.

With Drake's achievement the days of sea-roving and buccaneering were about over. The great continent discovered by Cabot still lay unoccupied, ready for settlers. "God hath reserved the same," said Sir Humphrey Gilbert, "to be reduced into Christian civility by the English nation." Sir Martin Frobisher had attempted a Northwest passage in 1576, and now in 1583 and 1584 Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh, half brothers, attempted English colonization in the New World. Gilbert lost his life in a storm at sea, feeling serene in the faith that he was "as near to heaven by sea as by land." Raleigh's colony at Roanoke came to a miserable end; but the efforts of Gilbert and Raleigh aroused their countrymen to the possibility of founding a colonial empire in the New World, and they deserve to be remembered as the forerunners of the English colonies which have grown into the great American nation.

REFERENCES : Irving's Columbus, Adams's Columbus, Winsor's Columbus, Fiske's Discovery of America, Higginson's Larger History of the United States, McLaughlin's History of the American Nation.

ROANOKE AND JAMESTOWN

BY LYON G. TYLER

PRESIDENT WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE

ROANOKE AND JAMESTOWN

ENGLAND'S RIVALRY WITH SPAIN

THE settlements at Roanoke and Jamestown were the fruits of England's rivalry with Spain. During the latter part of the fifteenth century Spain began that development which made her for a hundred years the greatest power of the world. In 1469 Ferdinand V united the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile by his marriage with Queen Isabella, and in 1492 he conquered and annexed the kingdom of Granada. Then under his auspices occurred the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, and not long after began the importation into Spain of the treasures of Mexico and Peru. Ferdinand died in 1516, and under his grandson Charles I, the prestige of Spain was immensely increased by Charles's election as emperor of Germany under the title of Charles V. Philip II, the son of Charles V, who succeeded to the Spanish throne in 1555, was the mightiest monarch of Europe. He was not only master of the Spanish peninsula and the New World of the West, but of Naples and Milan, the richest and most fertile districts in Italy, and of the Netherlands and Flanders, at that time the great

centre of the world's trade. Moreover, he was at once the head of the dominant religious influence and the military power of Europe. The Pope looked to him as the mainstay of the Catholic Church, and he was served by soldiers and generals who stood without rivals in their military skill. Liberty had no part in the programme of the Spanish kings, and everywhere in the vast compass of their dominions they asserted an absolute authority.

The history of England during this time is the story of the rise and development of a small kingdom into a successful rival with this gigantic power. Although the connection of England with the continent of America through the discoveries of John and Sebastian Cabot was second in time only to that of Spain, yet during the first three-quarters of the century succeeding no serious attempt was made to follow up these explorations so early undertaken. At the beginning of the sixteenth century English commerce was of small dimensions. The native English mariner was disposed to consider a two days' voyage from the shores of England a matter of much importance, and the enterprise of the Venetian Cabots by no means reflected the spirit of the kingdom.

The fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland first developed the spirit of commerce in England. Some spirits more daring than the rest, allured by the prospects of gain, visited annually those waters, and, the number increasing, there gradually grew

up a strong body of hardy and experienced English seamen, who in the course of time became prepared for wider and more glorious scenes of adventure.

Other influences developed to push England to the front. The Protestant reformation swept over Europe, and in 1534 Henry VIII disavowed allegiance to the Pope and asserted his supremacy of the Anglican Church. England became a place of refuge for Protestants from other countries, and by and by it assumed the character of champion of the Protestant cause. Moreover, the treasure which Spain imported in such vast quantities from its American possessions became unexpectedly an advantage instead of an injury to the English nation. Its introduction into Spain produced a ruinous spirit of speculation, and brought about the abandonment of all home manufactures, and thus the cities of England and Holland felt the stimulating effect of being called upon to supply Spain and its American possessions with most of their clothing and other manufactured goods. Thus it was not long before much of the American treasure found a permanent resting-place in the coffers of English merchants.

About the middle of the century this widely spread and suddenly developed activity had made an entirely different nation of the English people. The new era begins in 1549 with the return of Sebastian Cabot to England. After the great discoveries of his father and himself at the close of

the previous century, finding little encouragement in England he enlisted in the services of the king of Spain. Now, as an old man, called back under more favoring influences, he was made grand pilot of England, and under his auspices an expedition was sent out to find a northeast passage to India. The discovery, instead, of the Russian empire, with its strange mixture of grandeur and barbarism, resulted in the speedy establishment of lines of commerce with not only Russia, but Persia, Barbary, and many other countries of the East.

Awe of Spain at first turned the new-born energies of the nation away from the Spanish possessions; but this state of affairs did not long continue after Queen Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558. In the new career of American exploration and conquest, the gallant Sir John Hawkins led the way. In 1565 he went to Guinea, in Africa, and obtained a cargo of negro slaves, with which he sailed to the West Indies. There he disposed of them to much advantage, and returned to England with a cargo of pearls, hides, and emeralds, after which he performed several other lucrative voyages of the same nature. His example was followed by other adventurous captains, among whom the celebrated Sir Francis Drake holds a place of dazzling preëminence. His voyages to South America rival in romantic effect the most extravagant tales of the "Arabian Nights." In 1578-1580 he visited the west coast of the American continent, crossed

the wide Pacific, and in a ship loaded with treasure, procured from the Spanish colonies, circumnavigated the globe. The spirit of adventure became general, and other voyagers find a place by the side of Hawkins and Drake. Scarcely inferior to them in courage and enterprise were Martin Frobisher and John Davis, who went out on several expeditions in search of a northwest passage to India, and penetrated far into the icy waters of Labrador and British America.

ROANOKE

Of a higher purpose than any other actor upon this tremendous historic stage was Sir Humphrey Gilbert, an Eton and Oxford scholar, a soldier who had served in the wars of Ireland and the Netherlands, and a man in whom the rivalry with Spain attained its highest and noblest development. He conceived the grand design of planting an English colony in America as the best means of weakening Spain and promoting the greatness of the English nation; and for ten years he devoted all his vast energies to arousing a national interest in the subject. In 1576 he obtained from Queen Elizabeth a patent of colonization, which gave him full power to inhabit and fortify all lands not yet possessed by any Christian prince or people. Under this first patent for colonization, Gilbert despatched two great expeditions, with a view of planting a colony in Newfoundland, — one in 1578 and the other in 1583, —

but both were complete failures. Not much is known of his first expedition, but the story of his last is most affecting. Gilbert left England, June 11, 1583, with a fine fleet, but from the outset the voyage was unfortunate. On the way over, one of the ships deserted and went back to England, and two others got separated from the fleet, and the crews betook themselves to piracy. Nevertheless, undismayed, Gilbert, with the remaining ships, pursued his way to Newfoundland, which he reached August 8, 1583, and took possession of in the name of the Queen of England. In Newfoundland his bad luck continued. Many of the sailors fell sick, and numbers of the colonists deserted and hid themselves in the woods. The courage of Gilbert remained as high as ever, and on the 20th of August, with three ships well provided, he left St. John's and pursued his exploration of the coast southward. He sailed down as far as 44° north latitude, but here he suffered a calamity greater than any that had yet befallen him. When off Sable Island, his largest ship, the *Delight*, with most of the provisions on board, struck on a rock and went to pieces in sight of the other ships. Overwhelmed by this terrible disaster, Gilbert returned to the shore of Newfoundland, where, yielding to the importunity of his men, he consented to give up the expedition and return to England.

This was a sad conclusion of the enterprise, but over the wreck of his fondest anticipations Gilbert's

heroic spirit rose supreme. Instead of distressing his men with bitter repinings, he cheered them with prospects of further adventures, and actually planned for the coming year two new American expeditions, one to the south and one to the north; and when some one ventured to ask how he expected to provide the means to carry out his far-reaching designs, Gilbert replied, "Leave that to me, and I will ask a penny of no man."

As the fleet sped homeward, the weather became daily worse and the sea more dangerous. There were now only two ships in the fleet, — the *Golden Hind*, of forty tons, and the *Squirrel*, of ten, hardly larger than a cockboat to a modern man-of-war. Gilbert sailed in the *Squirrel*, and when he was entreated by the officers to take passage in the larger vessel, his answer was, "I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils."

When they had reached the vicinity of the islands of Azores, the tempest attained its greatest violence and threatened every moment to destroy the ships. The *Squirrel* was in the lead, carrying the admiral's pennon, now on the crest of the mountain waves and now in the trough of the cavernous sea. It seemed impossible for the little vessel to survive, but Gilbert sat serene and cheerful on the deck with a book in his hand; and as often as the *Hind* approached within hearing distance, he would speak the language of comfort and consolation, "We are as near to

heaven by sea as by land," — a speech, as Clarke, one of his captains, remarks, "well beseeeming a soldier resolute in Jesus Christ." It was Monday, September 9, 1583, and when night came on, only the lights in the rigging of the *Squirrel* told that the noble admiral still survived. At midnight suddenly the lights went out and a cry arose from the *Hind*, "The admiral is cast away," which was true; "for in that moment the *Squirrel* was devoured and swallowed up of the sea." Alone of the two ships, the *Golden Hind* reached its destination in safety.

The great undertaking for which Gilbert had sacrificed his life was renewed by his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, the most accomplished man of his age. At the time of Gilbert's death he was thirty-two years of age, and was already one of the foremost men in the kingdom. Traveller, soldier, scholar, courtier, statesman, Raleigh possessed purposes as high as Gilbert's and graces and intellectual powers even superior. With loyal devotion he had sympathized with his brother in all his aims, and in his various enterprises was his main supporter.

He set to work to arouse the nation on an even more magnificent scale than Gilbert had done. His first step was to persuade the great naval historian, Richard Hakluyt, to prepare a paper which should set forth the great objects of colonization. This paper was circulated about the court and shown to Queen Elizabeth, and nothing better could have

been devised to stir the heart and arouse the patriotism of the nation. Through Hakluyt's pen the advantages of a colony in America, as a means of overthrowing the power of Spain and enhancing the life and grandeur of the nation, were portrayed with a variety of argument and illustration worthy of any epic. In 1584 Raleigh obtained a patent similar in all respects to Gilbert's, and in 1585 secured for it a national sanction by having it ratified by Parliament.

A month after obtaining his patent, Raleigh sent out two ships, under Arthur Barlow and Philip Amidas, directing them to go southward instead of to the dreary north. The design of the expedition was the selection of a proper place of settlement on the North American coast for the proposed colony.

Barlow and Amidas took the route by way of the Canary Islands and the West Indies, and approached the coast of North Carolina in the early part of July. Proximity to the shore was heralded by the odors of flowers wafted across the waters. Soon after, they came in sight of the sandy reefs that constitute the outer coast of North Carolina, and they sailed along them 120 miles northward until they reached Ocracoke Inlet. Entering at this point, they landed on an island called Wokokon, where they were visited by an Indian named Granganimeo, brother of the chief who ruled the surrounding country. He told them that the chief's name was Wingina, and the country Wingandacoa. After

this a boat was sent out carrying twenty-eight men to make an exploration. They sailed up Pamlico Sound, which they found in some places fifty miles broad, and dotted over with more than one hundred islands, the most beautiful and largest being Roanoke, distant fifty miles from Wokokon. It was sixteen miles long, and had at its farthest end an Indian village, whose inhabitants greeted the voyagers with great kindness. Shortly after, Barlow and Amidas took leave of the country, and about the middle of September arrived in England. Queen Elizabeth and Raleigh were both pleased with the news of their discovery, and while the former named the country in honor of herself "Virginia," the latter made haste to take possession of it with a colony.

Accordingly, on the 9th of April, 1585, his fleet, consisting of seven sail and carrying 108 settlers, departed from Plymouth for Roanoke. Among the important men on board were Sir Richard Grenville, who commanded the fleet, Captain Ralph Lane, who had charge of the colony, Thomas Cavendish, who afterwards was the second Englishman to circumnavigate the globe, Thomas Hariot, the famous mathematician, and John White, the painter. About the middle of May they reached the island of Porto Rico, and after lingering in the West Indies about a month, sailed for Florida, and June 26 came to anchor at Wokokon. Three days later one of their ships struck on the bottom and was sunk.

They remained at Wokokon over three weeks,

during which time exploring parties were sent to the mainland and adjacent islands, including Croatoan, where resided some Indians who proved very friendly. They visited many Indian towns, but an unfortunate incident arose to disturb the friendly relations which had hitherto prevailed with the Indians. One of the savages stole a silver cup, and in retaliation Grenville burnt an Indian village and destroyed their corn crop.

On August 21 the fleet went out to sea again, and sailing up the coast passed Cape Hatteras and arrived at Roanoke Island by way of New Inlet. The site of the settlement was at the northeast corner of the island, and there even now may be traced the outlines of the ditch which enclosed the camp forty yards square, the home of the first English settlers in the New World. After disembarking the colony, Sir Richard Grenville returned to England with the fleet for fresh supplies.

The colonists who remained were composed of that daring, pushing material of which the pioneers of the world have ever been made; but the example of the Spaniards disposed them to ignore stock-raising and agriculture and to place the hopes of their plantation upon the discovery of a gold mine and the south sea. Consequently, after the departure of Grenville, Captain Lane spent his time in despatching exploring expeditions having this purpose in view. Of these expeditions we have ample accounts from Lane himself, while to Hariot we owe accurate

surveys of the coasts and rivers, and to White vivid paintings of the country and inhabitants. Lane said, "It is the goodliest and most pleasing territory of the world; for the continent is of an huge and unknown greatness and very well peopled and towned, though savagely, and the climate so wholesome that we have not one sick since we touched the land here. . . ."

When the spring of 1586 appeared the prospects of the colony were not encouraging. Sir Richard Grenville had promised to return with supplies by Easter, but Easter passed, and there was no news from England. Moreover, since the episode of the silver cup, the Indians were no longer friendly. Granganimeo was dead, and his brother, Wingina, or, as he was now called, Pemisapan, was only prevented by Elsinor, his father, from making active war upon the English. Nevertheless, Lane was equal to the occasion. He took precaution to prevent starvation by putting in a crop of corn sufficient to last a whole year. And when soon after Elsinor died, and Pemisapan laid a plot to destroy the fishing weirs on which the English depended for supplies till the harvest time in July, Lane led an expedition to Dasamonguepeake on the mainland, and in a battle with the Indians killed Pemisapan and many of his warriors.

This happened on June 1, 1586, and a week later the colonists were thrown into a panic by what seemed at first a still greater danger. There ap-

peared upon the horizon a great fleet of three and twenty sail, and fears were entertained that the terrible Spaniards had arrived. It was remembered that twenty years before, Pedro Menendez, governor of Florida, had surprised the French settlement of Laudonnière in Florida and butchered the entire colony. Happily it turned out to be Sir Francis Drake, coming from one of his marauding expeditions against San Domingo, Cartagena, and St. Augustine. The great sea-captain behaved in a most kindly and friendly manner, and offered assistance in any form that Lane might desire. Lane asked for some fresh supplies and the loan of a vessel, to which Drake readily acceded, but just about this time there arose such a storm that Drake's splendid fleet incurred the utmost danger of shipwreck, and so discouraged the colonists that they abandoned the island and took passage in Drake's ships back to England, which they reached July 27 following.

Soon after the departure of the colony, a ship reached Roanoke Island with provisions furnished by Sir Walter Raleigh, and about fourteen or fifteen days later Sir Richard Grenville arrived with three ships loaded with further supplies. He spent some time in hunting for the colony, but of course found no traces of it, and so returned to England, leaving fifteen men at Roanoke Island to retain possession of the country for Raleigh and the queen.

Ordinary men would have yielded to these discouragements, but Raleigh, like his brother Gilbert,

rose to higher resolves as the difficulties increased. He at once began to provide for a settlement upon Chesapeake Bay, of which Grenville and Lane had received a favorable report from the Indians. He prepared a new colony and placed them under the charge of John White, the painter, and twelve councillors, to whom he gave a charter of incorporation by the name of the "Governor and Assistants of the city of Raleigh in Virginia." This expedition was intended to be more of a colony, properly speaking, than the former. The new governor was not a warrior like Lane, but one who could appreciate the natural productions of the country, and among the 150 settlers there were seventeen women and nine children.

The fleet left Portsmouth in England, April 26, 1587, and July 22 arrived at New Inlet. Here Samuel Ferdinando, the pilot, declined to proceed any farther with the colony, and thus they were compelled, contrary to the instructions of Raleigh, to reëstablish themselves on Roanoke Island. A search was instituted for the fifteen men Grenville left there, but they found nothing but the bones of one man. They afterwards learned from the Indians that the English had been attacked by Pemisapan's warriors, and after losing one of their number had taken to sea in a boat and disappeared.

It was unfortunate for the new settlers that, owing to the misdeeds of their predecessors, the Indians considered an Englishman now a natural enemy, to

be slain whenever seen. George Howie, one of the council, went out in the water to catch crabs, and perished in a sudden attack of the savages. John White tried to establish kindly relations through the aid of Manteo, a friendly native, but met with little success. Happily the good offices of Manteo kept his own tribe at Croatoan on kindly terms, and for this and his other faithful services he was, on August 13, christened at Roanoke and called "Lord thereof and Dasamonguepeake." Five days later Governor John White's daughter Eleanor, wife of Annanias Dare, one of the assistants, was delivered of a daughter, and the Sunday following she was christened Virginia, *because she was the first Christian child born in Virginia.*

By this time the ships had unladen the goods and victuals of the planters and were preparing to return to England. It was determined, by the unanimous vote of the colony, to send White back to represent their condition and hasten relief. He at first refused to go, because it looked too much like deserting the colony; but they renewed their entreaties till White consented, and August 27, 1787, departed for Europe.

He arrived November 5, but found affairs peculiarly unpropitious for effecting the object of his mission. The crisis in the rivalry with Spain had at length been reached, and England was bending all its energies to protect itself from the hostile designs of Spain. After the return of Drake in 1580 from his voyage round the world, Spain declared war

against England, and Philip, with a view of crushing his enemy once and for all, collected a large army at Bruges in Flanders and an enormous fleet, called the Armada, in the Tagus in Spain. Queen Elizabeth and her councillors considered various measures to protect the kingdom, but, against the prevalent disposition to rely upon the land forces, Sir Walter Raleigh acted the part of another Themistocles in urging the importance of a well-equipped fleet. His policy of defending England on the water was not only adopted, but resulted in great success. In 1588 a great naval battle was fought in the English Channel, and there the English fleet, under the command of Lord Howard, and Raleigh, and Drake, and Hawkins, and Frobisher, and Lane, and all the other heroes of England, won a great victory, the most important in the history of the world, as it settled the fate of English colonization. It was owing to that victory that North America was saved to the English and did not become the property of the Spaniards.

Its far-reaching consequences, however, did not become apparent at first. During this period of danger threatened by the Armada, Raleigh sent out two expeditions for the relief of the colony in Virginia, but the first, before it could leave the ports of England, was impressed by the government, and the second was worsted in a sea fight with the Spaniards and forced to return. It was not until 1591, three years after his return home, that White was

able to carry assistance to his friends in Virginia. During all that time no news had been received from them, and now the issue of the voyage was most melancholy. The captain of the fleet had very little sympathy with White's designs, and preferred buccaneering among the Spaniards in the West Indies to conveying immediate relief to the colonists. They loitered on the way so long that summer was spent before they arrived at Roanoke Island. On August 15, toward evening, they came to anchor at New Inlet, and White's hopes were very much encouraged on seeing a great smoke arise on Roanoke Island, near the place where he left his colony in the year 1587.

The next morning two boats were made ready, and in them were placed several small cannon to give notice to their friends on the island of their arrival. When they had proceeded halfway, they saw another great smoke on the coast, and directed their progress thither. It was a long distance off, so that when they arrived they were very tired. They found no single human being, and, thirsty and worn out, they sank holes in the sand for fresh water, and deferred their going to Roanoke till the next morning. August 17 they set out again for Roanoke Island, but the weather was so bad that one of the boats was overturned and seven of the men drowned. This disheartened the sailors, and it was as much as White could do to persuade them to visit the island. When they did reach the

island, it had grown very dark; but again their hopes were raised by the light of a great fire which shone through the woods at the north end of the island. They anchored in front of the fire, and, to announce their return, sounded a trumpet's call, and afterwards sang many familiar English tunes and songs; but not an answering sound broke the stillness of the night. Alarmed and wondering, White landed with his men at daybreak and found the fire still burning, but nothing to indicate that it was the work of the colonists. It looked more like the work of savages, whose footprints were discovered in the sand on the side of the island nearest the mainland.

Then White and his companions directed their course to the north point of the island, where White left the colony in 1587; and, as they climbed up the sandy bank where the fort was placed, they found, engraved upon a tree, in capital letters, "C R O," and farther on, upon another tree near the gate of the fort, the word "CROATOAN." Then White recalled the fact that he had agreed with the colonists when he left them that, if they found it necessary to abandon the island, they should take care to leave behind them some token of the new place of settlement. He was glad to see that the letters were unaccompanied by any cross, which was to be cut in the tree if they removed in distress. After further examination of the vicinity, they discovered a place where the colonists had buried some

of their furniture and goods ; but the chests in which they were contained were broken open, and about the spot White found many of his own things spoiled and ruined, among which were his armor and several of his books and pictures. This he attributed to the savages, who had years before watched the departure of the colonists to Croatoan, and most likely dug up every spot where they suspected anything was buried.

With renewed hopes, White and his men returned to the ships, and the next morning weighed anchor for the island called Croatoan, but fresh difficulties arose. The weather, which had been threatening, now grew very stormy ; they lost two anchors and all their fresh water, so that the crew became afraid to remain longer on the coast during that dangerous season of the year. They returned, therefore, to the West Indies without ever seeing Croatoan, and, meeting with the great fleet of Sir John Hawkins, accompanied him to the Canary Islands, whence they framed their due course for England.

White could never contrive means to return, and the tragic effect of his separation is heightened by the fact that among the colonists was his own daughter and granddaughter. In a letter from his house at Newtown, the bereaved father committed the relief of the lost colony to Almighty God, "whom I most humbly beseech to help and comfort them according to his most holy will."

What became of the colonists after leaving Roa-

noke Island has been the subject of much conjecture. At intervals, for twelve years longer, Raleigh sent out ships and continued the search, but somehow it was always the same story of misfortune, and no word came from the lost colony. Years after, when Jamestown was settled, some Indians who professed to know the Roanoke colonists related that, after living at Croatoan till about the time of the arrival of the colony on James River, they had been cruelly massacred, at the instigation of Powhatan. Only seven of them — four men, two boys, and a young maid — were preserved from slaughter by a friendly chief; and from these, it has been said, was descended a tribe of Indians found in the vicinity of Roanoke Island in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and known as the Hatteras Indians. They had gray eyes, which were found among no other tribe, and claimed to have white people as their ancestors.

Raleigh will always be looked upon as the real father of Virginia colonization. It was through his enterprise that two of the products of that country — the potato and tobacco — were popularized in England; and to him is due the ultimate selection of the Chesapeake Bay as the proper place of settlement. Despite his repeated failures, he never lost confidence in Virginia. His faith in the ultimate realization of his ambition was expressed in 1603 in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, "I shall yet live to see Virginia an English nation."

JAMESTOWN

After the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, Raleigh lost his favor at court, and was arrested on a charge of treason for plotting to place Lady Arabella Stuart upon the throne. He was confined in the Tower for twelve years, during which time he wrote his "History of the World." In 1615 he was released on the promise of finding a rich mine in Guiana, but the voyage was a failure, and upon his arrival home he was arrested by order of King James, and in 1618 executed upon the old verdict of the jury rendered fifteen years before.

Nevertheless, Raleigh lived to see his prediction as to Virginia realized; for with the opening years of the seventeenth century the conditions of English life became more favorable to a successful colonization, and others took up the scheme. The spirit of adventure which had hitherto characterized the temper of the English people gave place, in great measure, to the sober atmosphere of commercial thought; and for private enterprises, like Gilbert's and Raleigh's, was substituted the powerful influence of organized capital, enlisting the coöperation of many persons. In 1600 a great joint-stock association, called the East India Company, which laid the foundation of the British East Indian empire, was incorporated, and its rapid success encouraged the friends of American colonization to adopt it as their model. Another important element was the altered

state of relations between Spain and England. In 1605 peace was made, and thus the seas were rendered more safe for commerce, and plenty of emigrants became available from the multitude formerly employed in fighting the battles of England in the Netherlands and on the high seas.

Thus, when the news of some fresh explorations came to England, the interest excited produced better results than had ever before been thought possible. In 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold went on a voyage to the coast of New England, and, returning the next year, brought a favorable report of the country. He revealed the fact that the extent of seaboard fit for settlement was practically boundless. In 1603 Captain Pring performed a voyage to the same region, and his report confirmed the good account of his predecessor. Then in 1605 Captain George Weymouth went on a voyage to the Kennebec River, and his report of the country surpassed that of Gosnold and Pring. Two large associations were formed, one comprised of certain knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers of the city of London, and the other of persons resident in the cities of Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth; and they obtained a joint charter in April, 1606. This charter defined *Virginia* as the territory lying between the 34th and 45th parallels of north latitude, and as extending indefinitely inland. The first company, called the London Company, was permitted to establish their settlement anywhere be-

tween the 34th and 41st parallels, and the second, called the Plymouth Company, between the 38th and 45th. The actual jurisdiction of each company was represented by a rectangle extending one hundred miles along the coast, one hundred miles inland, and one hundred miles to sea.

The Plymouth Company was the first to get under way, and in August, 1607, they sent a colony to the mouth of the Kennebec River, but after a winter of great severity these settlers abandoned their settlement and went back to England. The single product of this first unfortunate colony was the pinnace *Virginia*, the *first ship built by Englishmen in America*, and which was destined three years later in the South Virginian colony to act an important part. The expedition of the London Company was more successful. It consisted of three vessels, the *Sarah Constant* of 100 tons, the *Godspeed*, 40 tons, and the *Discovery*, 20 tons, commanded respectively by Christopher Newport, Bartholomew Gosnold, and John Ratcliffe. The fleet carried 104 men besides the crew, and among the most prominent voyagers were Edward Maria Wingfield, John Smith, John Martin, and George Kendall, who, together with Newport, Gosnold, and Ratcliffe, formed the first resident council. They went by way of the West Indies, and did not arrive off the Virginia capes till April 26, 1607. Landing at Cape Henry, they erected a cross, and soon after opened their sealed instructions. After this, they spent about seven-

teen days of the beautiful spring season exploring the surrounding country. They named the cape, at the entrance of Hampton Roads, Point Comfort, because of the deep channel they found there, and the point at which Newport News now stands, Point Hope. Proceeding up the river, which they called after King James I, they finally selected for their seating-place a peninsula about thirty-two miles from the mouth of the river.

This famous tract of land—justly called the “Cradle of the United States”—lies on the northern shore of James River, and is about three miles long and one and one-quarter wide at its widest part. It runs for length the course of the river, which is southeast, and contains about 1700 acres. At its northwestern end, in 1607, it was connected with the mainland by a narrow isthmus, long since worn away by the action of the waters. Near this isthmus, on the river side, the colonists erected their fort, church, and log cabins, calling the settlement Jamestown. They were at first in high hopes, as all nature seemed to welcome them to their new home. The great trees had put on their deepest green, and the ground was carpeted with flowers of many dyes and hues. The air was sweet with perfume and the song of the mocking-bird bathed the island in delicious music. The place seemed a world of enchantment, where all the conditions promised a vigorous growth for the colony.

But the hopes entertained at their first arrival

were destined to be short-lived. Troubles from many sources overwhelmed the colonists, and for over twelve years the existence of the colony hung on a thread. The heroism of the settlers during this time is unparalleled in the history of the world. Out of 14,000 emigrants imported in fifteen years only 1258 survived at the time of the massacre in 1622, and by this calamity the number was still further reduced to 911. But with grim tenacity the settlers never entirely let go their hold upon Virginia, and at last their loyalty and patriotism bore fruit in a sure and certain occupation, by which English civilization has been diffused so widely throughout the North American continent.

The foundation time may be said to be coextensive with the existence of the London Company. It is divisible into three periods, — the period of the first charter 1607–1610, the period of martial law 1610–1619, and the period of constitutional government 1619–1625, — the last two embracing the duration of the second and third charters.

The emigrants sent over during the first of these periods were largely gentlemen of the fearless stamp of Drake and Hawkins, and were not at all accountable for the disasters which ensued. The emigrants were Christian Protestants, who were very exact in the performance of religious duties. They came over in the spiritual charge of Rev. Robert Hunt, a godly divine, and among the first things attended to was the service of God. At first, services were

held under an old sail hung between three or four trees, and the congregation used stumps for seats. Then they built a church of logs covered with sedge and earth, where "daily morning and evening prayers were had, every Sunday two sermons, and every three months the holy communion."

Their misfortunes are to be attributed to the hostility of the Indians, the diseases of the climate, the insufficiency of the supplies from England, and the mistakes of the home and local governments, over which they had absolutely no control. The first charter lodged the supreme authority in a council in London appointed by the king, and this council appointed the local council in Virginia. Both councils were entirely independent of the London Company and the settlers of Virginia.

The king and council in England made their first mistake when they established community of property in Virginia. This principle was found to breed discontent in the Plymouth colony, and came near destroying it till Governor Bradford, deeming the preservation of his colony the most important consideration, rescinded the rule, and allotted each family a portion of land. Then they made another mistake, in authorizing a majority of the local council to elect their own president, and fill their own vacancies, and to remove the president or any of the council. No better provision could have been devised to provoke discord and faction, and the Virginia council was speedily torn to pieces by the quarrels of wrangling

aspirants for power. Next the local council erred as to the place of settlement. Instead of obeying the written instructions of their masters in England not to "plant in a low moist place," they selected a site flanked by marshes, covered with enormous trees, devoid of fresh-water springs, beset with hostile Indians, and on a river which had no great supply of fish or beaver. Thus the conditions were in every respect just the reverse of those of the Plymouth settlement on Cape Cod Bay; for there the Pilgrim Fathers had the advantage of a dry situation, a sparkling stream at their doors, open fields deserted by Indians, whose nearest town was forty miles distant, a bay teeming with fish, and a country abounding in animals, whose skins brought large profit in London.

After the first few days succeeding the landing, the story of suffering began at Jamestown. As the result of fever and Indian attack, by September out of 104 settlers only forty-six remained. The account presented by George Percy is far from agreeing with the scandalous imputations of idleness suggested by some writers: "There were neuer Englishmen left in a forreigne Countrey in such miserie as wee were in this new discouered *Virginia*. Wee watched euery three nights, lying on the bare cold ground, what weather soeur came; (and) warded all the next day: which brought our men to bee most feeble wretches. Our food was but a small can of Barlie sod(den) in water, to fieve men a day. Our drinke, cold water

taken out of the Riuer ; which was, at a floud, verie salt ; at a low tide, full of slime and filth : Which was the destruction of many of our men. Thus we lieued for the space of fve months (August 1607 Jan. 1608) in this miserable distresse, not hauing fve able men to man our Bulwarkes vpon any occasion. If it had not pleased God to haue put a terrour in the Sauages hearts, we had all perished by those wild and cruell Pagans, being in that weake estate as we were ; our men night and day groaning in euery corner of the Fort most pittiful to heare. If there were any conscience in men, it would make their harts to bleed to heare the pitifull murmurings and outcries of our sick men without reliefe, euery night and day, for the space of sixe weekes (? 8 Aug.—Sept. 1607): some departing out of the World, many times three or foure in a night ; in the morning, their bodies (being) trailed out of their Cabines like Dogges, to be buried. In this sort, did I see the mortalitie of diuers of our people.”

By September faction in the council was rampant, and Wingfield, the president, was deposed, and counsellor Kendall was shot for alleged mutiny. At this time occurred *the first jury trial in America*, when John Smith sued the deposed president for libel, and received £200 damages by verdict of the jury.

The colony would probably have quickly disappeared, had it not been for the activity of John Smith in getting corn from the natives. He made many visits to the Indians, and in one of them happened

an episode the most romantic in early American history. In December, 1607, he was captured up the Chickahominy River by the Indians, and after being carried about from one Indian town to another was at length taken to the capital of Powhatan, head war-chief of all the Indians in Tide-water Virginia. This place, called Werowocomoco, was situated at Portan Bay on the north side of the York River, whose beautiful blue waters Smith, as far as history shows, was the first white man to gaze upon. Brought into the presence of Powhatan, Smith was bound to a rock, by which several grim Indians with huge clubs took their stand, prepared to beat out his brains. But just at the fatal moment, Powhatan's favorite daughter Pocahontas, a girl of twelve years of age, sprang forward and entreated her father to spare the prisoner. When Powhatan refused, Pocahontas flung herself upon the prisoner, got his head in her arms and laid her own upon his. This proved too much for Powhatan, and he ordered the prisoner to be released, and soon after Smith returned to Jamestown. Promptly upon his return in January, 1608, the council arrested him as responsible for the death by the Indians of two white men who accompanied him up the Chickahominy, and sentenced him to death; and he would have been executed the next day, had not that selfsame evening Newport returned with the "First Supply" of men and provisions, and caused his release from custody.

Newport brought 120 passengers, who, added to

the 38 survivors, increased the population at Jamestown to 158. But it was not long before a new series of evils began. Four days after the arrival of Newport and the ships, Jamestown accidentally took fire and burned down; and the result was that as the winter was one of uncommon severity, many died from exposure. In the spring the council nearly worked the settlers to death in digging for fool gold, and cutting down mighty trees to load the returning ships; and in the second summer there was the same unhealthiness and similar factious behavior in the council, leading to the deposition of Ratcliffe, and the temporary election of Matthew Scrivener, until John Smith became president in September, 1608.

By October the number at Jamestown had dwindled to 130, but in that month Newport came with the "Second Supply," and added 70 persons to the population, making the total number 200. Among the newcomers was Ann Burras, who was married in December, 1608, by Rev. Robert Hunt, in the Jamestown church, to John Laydon. *This is the first-recorded English marriage on the soil of the United States.* The following year was born Virginia Laydon, *the first child born in the first permanent English settlement in the United States.* The letter brought by Newport from the superior council in England blamed the local council very much for the miserable cargoes hitherto returned, and directed them among other useless things to explore the country above

the falls for a gold mine. Compliance with these instructions took off the colonists to such an extent from their necessary labors that, had not Newport and Smith made repeated visits to the Indians, they might have all starved before the spring.

The account which Smith gives of the labor performed in April, 1609, by the colonists in their weak and enfeebled condition, speaks much for their endurance. It was by itself a herculean task to cut down forty acres of trees, and prepare the land for corn. But besides this they dug a deep well in the fort, re-covered their church, erected twenty new cabins, and made provisions for their defence by building a blockhouse on the isthmus and a fort up Gray's creek opposite to Jamestown. The misfortune which interrupted these proceedings is to be attributed, not to the colonists, but to the carelessness of Smith, who reigned sole ruler — the councillors being all dead or gone to England. It was now discovered that most of the corn upon which the colonists depended for nourishment was consumed by rats, and what was left "was unfit for hogs to eat." To save the colony Smith had to disperse the settlers, sending some to live with the Indians, and others to the oyster banks down the river, "where in a short time the oyster diet caused all their skins to peel off from head to foot as if they had been fleade."

In the meantime, important events were happening in London. The news brought by the ships of the strife in the council at Jamestown determined the

members of the London Company to appeal to the king for a change of government. Accordingly, in May, 1609, a new charter was issued incorporating the members and giving them the power to appoint "a sole and absolute governor" in the place of the factious council. Soon after a great fleet was made ready, and in June, 1609, Sir Thomas Gates took passage, as governor, with about six hundred settlers. But the voyage over was very unfortunate; for the yellow fever and the plague broke out among the passengers, and there followed a great storm which scattered the fleet and wrecked upon the Bermuda Islands the *Sea Venture* which bore the governor and the chief officers. The other ships, including the *Virginia*, built on the Kennebec, reached Jamestown in safety, but their arrival only added to the troubles already existing there.

The new settlers came utterly unprovided; for the supplies brought in the ships were all ruined by the rain and sea water. Moreover, Smith was unfriendly to the new leaders, and after several violent quarrels he departed the colony in October, 1609, with the returning ships, leaving as president George Percy, brother to the Earl of Northumberland. Then there succeeded nine months of terrible suffering known as the "Starving Time," during which most of the settlers died. The spring of 1610 found only some sixty wretched survivors living at Jamestown, and these were saved at the last moment in an almost miraculous manner.

One day in May, when all hope seemed lost, two ships were discovered coming up the river. When they cast anchor, they were found to contain Sir Thomas Gates and the passengers of the *Sea Venture*, who nearly forty-two weeks before had been wrecked upon the Bermuda Islands. These ships had been constructed by the castaways, out of the cedar that grew upon that strange land, and bore the names of the *Patience* and *Deliverance*. Gates landed his men, and his first care was to relieve the famished denizens of Jamestown, among whom was John Laydon and his little daughter Virginia. Then he called a council, and finding that his supplies were utterly unable to sustain the colony any length of time, he determined to abandon the settlement and return to England. And now it appeared, indeed, as if another sickening failure would be added to the long list of fruitless endeavors to plant an English colony in America. The company, on June 7, 1610, accordingly embarked in the *Patience* and *Deliverance*, and toward evening left Jamestown, halting that night at Hog Island, about seven miles down the river. The next morning they reached Mulberry Island, fifteen miles distant, when they saw the white sails of the little pinnace *Virginia*, commanded by Captain Edward Brewster, coming to meet them. Never did vessel bring more important message. Brewster informed Gates that Lord Delaware had arrived at Point Comfort with 150 settlers, and thereupon the colonists put back

to Jamestown, and that evening took possession again of their deserted habitations. Sunday, two days later, Lord Delaware arrived, and as he stepped ashore he fell upon his knees and gave thanks, as well he might, since by his timely arrival not only Jamestown, but the North American Continent, was saved to the English.

Now began the second period in the foundation of Virginia, and from this time till 1619 there prevailed martial law, administered by Delaware, as lord governor for life, and his deputies Gates, Dale, Yardley, and Argall. The settlers that came over during this period were chiefly mechanics, but they got along no better than the gentlemen of the early days. The trouble was fundamental—the lack of personal liberty and individual property rights. The settlement, during this dark period, might have been given over, had not in the culture of tobacco, begun in 1612, a new hope been found. The profits in the culture exceeded at first the output of any gold mine, and toward the end of the period several private companies were formed, who, with consent of the London Company, sent over emigrants to plant tobacco on their own account. Another incident, having the savor of romance about it, contributed also to preparing the way for a better state of things. Powhatan, the great Indian chief, had carried on a desultory war with the English ever since the first landing, but in 1614 he made the first real peace. The occasion was the wedding

of his daughter Pocahontas with John Rolfe, the secretary of state—a gentleman of an ancient English family, and the first man in Virginia to plant tobacco. Pocahontas was baptized and married about the 5th of April, 1614, in the church at Jamestown, by Rev. Richard Buck, according to the beautiful ritual of the Church of England. Powhatan approved the marriage, and Pocahontas's old uncle, Apachisco, and two of her brothers were present at the ceremony. *This was the first conversion of an Indian to Christianity, and the first marriage between white man and Indian, within the limits of the original thirteen English colonies.* One other event lightens the gloom of this period of dreadful slavery to the poor settlers. The stern Sir Thomas Dale, who ruled during most of the period, hearing that the French had colonies in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick within the limits of Virginia, and were preparing to settle New England, sent Argall in 1613 with an armed vessel, who dispossessed the intruders and thus kept the country open for the Puritan settlers, when they came over seven years later under a patent from the London Company.

In 1616 the period of the joint stock at length ended, and the London Company, under Sir Edwin Sandys, one of the noblest Englishmen that ever lived, went to work to digest a plan for the government of the colony, with full recognition of property rights and popular rule. After three years Sir George Yardley was sent over as governor with full instruc-

tions, and the third and last period of the foundation began. He abolished martial law, gave each man a farm of his own, and issued a summons to the different settlements along the James River, of which there were now eleven, for the election of burgesses to form with the governor and council a "General Assembly."

On July 30, 1619, more than a year before the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock, this assembly — *the first representative body which ever assembled in the Western continent* — met in the church at Jamestown; and, as a proper sequel to this event, a law was made in 1624 forbidding the governor to lay taxes without the consent of the assembly, and this was the *first assertion on the continent of the principle upon which the American Revolution was founded, that taxation should never be imposed without representation*. Hand in hand with the introduction of free representative institutions was the introduction of negro slavery through a Dutch ship, which in August, 1619, brought some twenty negroes to Jamestown. Their increase was at first very slow, and, during the fifty years which succeeded, the corn and tobacco fields were tilled chiefly by white servants brought from England.

The true establishment of Virginia dates from the year 1619, the very year in which the London Company granted its first patent to the Pilgrim Fathers. But it is not to be supposed that even

after this the current of the colony's life was wholly undisturbed. On the contrary, many misfortunes befell it, though none were so serious as to endanger its existence.

In 1622, during the administration of Sir Francis Wyatt (1621-1625), the Indians under Opechanca-nough, who succeeded Powhatan, attacked the colonists and killed 347 settlers, out of a total of 1258. Such a well-planned conspiracy, if undertaken at an earlier date, would have exterminated the colony; but the effects now were quickly shaken off, and the same year a Virginia ship, under Captain John Huddleston, rescued from starvation the famishing colony at Plymouth Rock. Then, in 1625, the people of Virginia were much disheartened by the king's revocation of the charter of the London Company. And when the king, in 1632, undertook to grant away to Lord Baltimore a part of the original Virginia domain guaranteed by the charter, the Virginians were greatly incensed; and because Sir John Harvey, then governor, took the part of Baltimore, he was arrested in 1635 and shipped to England in the custody of two members of the assembly. King Charles vigorously denounced the act as "one of regal authority," and hence this deposition of Harvey must be regarded as *the first Rebellion in America against British power*. The Virginians made a long struggle for Maryland, but eventually lost the fight, as Cromwell, in 1657, decided to uphold Lord Baltimore's authority.

In 1644 occurred the second Indian massacre, in which three hundred white settlers were destroyed; but the colony by this time had grown so strong and powerful that the shock was hardly felt; and when, five years later, King Charles was beheaded by Parliament, the Virginia assembly had the hardihood to denounce the act and proclaim his son Charles II as king. When, in 1652, Parliament despatched a fleet to bring Virginia to terms, Sir William Berkeley was able to draw together at Jamestown an army of twelve hundred men. Happily no blood was shed at this time, and an accommodation was had by which, while the general authority of Parliament was recognized, practical independence was assured to Virginia. The population of the colony at this time amounted to about twenty thousand, and was chiefly the outcome of the civil war in England between Charles I and Parliament. It is true that in the fifteen years succeeding the revocation of the charter thousands came to Virginia; but the large majority were servants who perished of hard work and the fevers which then infected the habitations on the river. Of them hardly one in five survived the first year of their residence in the colony. In 1642, when the civil war began, the population scarcely reached seven thousand; but after that time thousands of the best people of England sought refuge in Virginia till the population rose in ten years to three times that number. Among them were some men

of great estates in England, and some had ranked high in the army of Charles I.

Society in Virginia was from an early date distinctly rural and agricultural, and Jamestown, the metropolis, after Yardley's time never probably contained more than twenty-three or four substantial houses and a resident population of over 250 persons. The town consisted of two main streets — one along the banks of the river, and the other on a ridge about 143 yards distant. In 1625 there were twenty-two dwellings, a church, a merchant's store, three storehouses, a guard-house, and outside the town two blockhouses — one situated on the connecting isthmus and the other on Back River, which separated the Jamestown peninsula from the mainland. In 1639 funds were raised to build a brick state-house and brick church, and about the time of the restoration of Charles II there were in the town about twelve brick houses, not counting framed houses.

In 1676 the colony was convulsed with a civil war known as Bacon's Rebellion, during which all the houses in Jamestown were burned. It never fully recovered, and when the state-house, after being rebuilt, was in 1698 once more destroyed by fire, the seat of government was moved to the Middle Plantation, as Williamsburg was called on account of its location midway between the James and York rivers.

From this time Jamestown lost its political im-

portance and its population dwindled away, till it passed into the hands of a single proprietor. All that remains to-day to remind the visitor of its former glory is a portion of the tower of the church, some broken tombstones, and some brick foundations of houses that sheltered the early inhabitants. And yet the significance of Jamestown is not altered by this small exhibit. In a higher and nobler sense this great republic is Jamestown. Its free institutions, its unlimited power, its millions of freemen, are but the flower and fruit of the seed planted in 1607 on the banks of the James. In 1907 there will be celebrated in Virginia the tercentenary of the settlement at Jamestown; but it will not be the celebration of a vanished city, partly buried in the earth and partly submerged in the river, but the tercentenary of the foundation of one of the dominant powers of the earth.

THE DUTCH IN NEW NETHER-
LAND

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AUTHOR AND LECTURER

THE DUTCH IN NEW NETHERLAND

THE same Almighty Power which laid the rocks in strata set in their order the foundations of American history. The Puritans occupied the North, or New England. The cavaliers settled in the South, or Virginia. Between them, Providence placed the broad-minded Dutch and the tolerant Quakers.

New Netherland, roughly speaking, was the territory comprised in the Middle states, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. Its capital, or chief centre of government, was New Amsterdam, on Manhattan Island. Most of the other settlements of the Dutch, such as Brooklyn and Beverwyck, were named either after places in Patria, as they called their beloved country, or after the Indians, such as Esopus and Schenectady. Different from the other colonists, who sometimes did and sometimes did not buy the American lands they occupied, the Dutch were explicitly commanded in the charter of the West India Company to pay the Indians, honestly and well, for all lands upon which they should settle. William Penn, who followed so closely the teachings of his Rotterdam mother, imitated the good example set by the Hollanders.

With some sad exceptions, the people of New Netherland lived at peace with the Indians and made the red-men their friends. No state has a larger collection of paper or parchment deeds of land transfer, signed by the Indians, who made their mark or totem sign, or of belts of wampum, signifying treaties of peace and seals of ownership, than the Empire state. It was a Dutchman named Arendt van Curler, or "Corlaer," as the Iroquois called him, who confirmed the Dutch policy of peace with the Indians, begun by Elkins. "The silver chain of friendship" was kept brightened, nor was "the covenant of Corlaer" broken, until the white man's house was divided and the British and Americans quarrelled and went to war in the Revolution of 1776. To this day, the Indians call both the governor of New York and King Edward, the head of the British empire, by the name of one of New Netherland's great and good men, Arendt van Curler, but their "Corlaer" is now shortened to "Kora." This man, the founder of the city of Schenectady, now the centre of electric manufacturing, first bought the Great Flat, in the Mohawk Valley, and then built his houses and palisades. Those were the days when this "Dorp" or frontier village was "in the far West."

The most important opening by water from the Atlantic into the continent that is to be found within the present limits of the United States is New York Bay. From it northward stretches the great water-

way of rivers and lakes into Canada, while the beautiful Mohawk Valley has easy communication with the Great Lakes, and, by means of the Mississippi and its tributaries, with the Gulf of Mexico and the lands lying at the base of the Rocky Mountains. Long before the white man arrived, the Iroquois Indians had learned of the fertility and strategic value of the great region now called New York. Here they built their Long House, with its eastern door at Schenectady, its western at Niagara, its northern at Oswego, and its southern at Tioga Point. Thus they dominated the great riverways and the forty-nine valleys leading out of the state of New York.

Within New Netherland were also the rivers Raritan, Delaware, and Susquehanna, the headwaters of the Ohio, the wonderful lake region of New York, the Catskills, the Adirondacks, and that mighty mountain system of the Alleghanies, which runs through three of the Middle states, which is part of the Appalachian chain from Labrador to Alabama. The chief gap, or easy crossing, lies near the junction of the Mohawk and the Hudson rivers. The most highly developed Indians of North America — the Five Nations of the Iroquois — lived within the limits of New York in their forest republic. They were farmers and statesmen as well as warriors. They had storehouses of meat, provision, and grain, shell-money, rules of diplomacy, and strict laws of war and peace. It was, above all, important for any

colonists from northern Europe, whether Dutch or English, to keep the friendship of these Iroquois on account of the French in Canada, who wanted to possess the whole continent. All this the far-seeing statesman, Van Curler, saw clearly.

The new land to which the Dutch came consisted for the most part of unbroken forests, except in the river valleys, in the maize clearings, and the apple orchards of the Indians. Yet, with their yachts at sea and their canoes in the inland waters, the bright and enterprising young fellows from Holland had splendid opportunities of exploration, which they grandly used. They first made known to Europe the coast-line, the river mouths, and the islands from the eastern end of Massachusetts to the mouth of Delaware Bay. The original Dutch names have since been altered or covered up, so that to-day it is not every one that can recognize them. Even in some so-called Indian names, such as Housatonic, few recognize the Dutch original, Woesten Hoek, or Wild Man's Corner, or the place of the savages.

Who were these New Netherlanders who laid the foundations of New York State? Why did they leave Patria, then one of the most highly civilized countries in Europe, which excelled in art, architecture, and learning, to live in the wild country of America? Let us at once get rid of the funny and false notions about the Dutch in America, which have been industriously bred by the English, by Washington Irving, and in fiction and on the stage

by men who talk German, thinking it is Dutch, and who give German names to things which are from Holland. Let us have history and reality.

European men did not look upon the continent in the early seventeenth century, as we do now, for they did not know the world as we do. The sure outlines of America were not known. It was the aim and idea of each navigator to reach China, in order to get at the spices, gold, and furs of the rich "Indies." America was the obstacle in their path. The Dutch led all Europe in exploration and in trying to find either a northeast or a northwest passage to China without going around the Cape of Good Hope, or the Straits of Magellan. The Dutchmen named the Cape of Good Hope and discovered also Cape Horn, which is named after the city of Hoorn, in North Holland.

Even Englishmen entered the Dutch service because they were eager to win the prize of 25,000 guilders offered by the Congress, or States-General, to any one finding a short route to China. In 1609 some Amsterdam merchants fitted out the stout little ship, *Half-moon*, called after a famous fort of that shape and name, which had so often defied the Spaniards. With a crew of Dutch sailors, Henry Hudson sailed out of the Zuyder Zee, April 6, 1609. He first steered to Nova Zembla, but, forced back by the ice, he pointed his prows westward across the Atlantic. Landing at Mount Desert Island, he cut a new mast

for his ship and then sailing southward entered the river which bears his name, September 2. In the hope of finding a waterway to the far East, he sailed up to where Troy or Waterford now lies, but the shallows showed him that he could not at that point get to China by way of the North Pole. Neither by the Northeast or the Northwest Passage did Hudson ever find the way to China, but in 1879 Nordenskjöld reached Japan by sailing north of Asia. The northwest passage still lures men to attempt it.

When Hudson returned to Europe his ship was seized, he was detained by the king of England, and he probably never saw Holland again, for the grasping British government wanted to get the benefit of his discoveries. The Dutch merchants, then the most alert traders in the world, sent off ships, the *Fortune* and the *Tiger*, the very next year, and began to barter with the Indians for furs.

How proud these patriotic pioneers must have been when they unfurled the red, white, and blue flag of their country on Manhattan Island. Sometimes they flew a banner of twenty-one stripes, three for each one of the seven states of the young republic. They named the big "river that flows out of the mountains," as the Indians spoke of it, after their brilliant young general, Maurice, who with a Republican army of hardy young Dutchmen had beaten the Spaniards in the open field. Five vessels with their captains are named that probably entered New York Bay before 1613.

Captain Adrian Block, after whom Block Island is named, was one of these brave skippers. When his ship, the *Tiger*, was burned, in the autumn of 1615, he set to work to construct a yacht, which he named the *Onrest*, or *Restless*, which he launched during the winter. This was the beginning of the mighty fleets in wood, iron, and steel that have been built on Manhattan Island. Smart and bright as he was, he sailed through Hellgate and Long Island Sound, and into the river mouths of Connecticut, and the bays of Rhode Island and southern Massachusetts, giving many names to places, which have since been corrupted into English form. Meeting with the ship, *Fortune*, he returned to Holland, and went quickly to The Hague. There, in one of those rooms of the Dutch Congress, splendidly decorated with paintings and overlooking the famous Binnen Hof, he laid the report of his discoveries before the congressmen, and asked for the privilege of exclusive trade. The Dutch then, like the American now, knew how to get up trusts and monopolies, and already on the 27th of March, 1614, the States-General had issued such permission and monopoly to the discoverers of new lands. When, therefore, Block showed his map, the country was called New Netherland, and his desires were granted. In the use of the singular number, Netherland, we read the triumph of a united people of many provinces, now become one nation, and a "Union forever."

Yet, besides merchants eager for money-making, there were other men, who took a patriotic view of the situation, and wanted not only trade, but colonization. For over fifty years the little Dutch republic had been struggling against Spain for its very life. Now the Union, led by Maurice, saw a great opportunity to strike the Spaniards in the flank by colonizing New Netherland. At Madrid all America was considered as the Spanish king's private property, and Dutch and English colonists were looked on as common burglars.

Yet, beginning in 1609, there was a twelve years' truce between the little fighting republic and the giant monarchy of Spain, and it was not possible, nor until 1621 was it honorable, to attempt a regular Dutch colony in New Netherland. Jesse de Forest, of Leyden, where lived the Pilgrim fathers, had, long before them, urged the enterprise, and these Englishmen had asked for Dutch ships and convoy to carry them to the New World. Even trading was not highly appropriate during the truce. Yet in 1621, when the war began again, all enterprises of colonization were retarded, because the two political parties in the Dutch homeland were divided in their minds as to their country's foreign policy. The States' Right or City party, headed by Barneveldt, believed in trade only and in keeping peace with Spain, and were opposed both to military expansion and to colonization. The National or Union party, headed by Maurice, wanted colonies

and believed in keeping up the war with Spain. In the great conflict of ideas, which nearly led to civil war, the faults of the City party led almost to secession, and those of the Union or National party almost into tyranny. The question was mixed up with religion, and to some the struggle seemed simply one between Calvinists and Arminians. The Union party won. The war with Spain reopened, and the colonizers had their own way.

Steps were immediately taken to send a colony to New Netherland, and during the winter of 1622 and 1623 the young men and women who were to go to America got ready and in some cases got married. They took plenty of linen and warm clothing, and house furnishings, including Bibles, tools and seeds, and cradles, and their certificates of church membership. Most of them were church members, and, next to homes, wanted schools and churches as soon as possible.

The pioneer ship, *New Netherland*, a noble vessel, which sailed in the month of March, 1623, was filled with young, hearty, rosy-cheeked, alert, and industrious people, eager for a hazard of new fortunes beyond sea. Most of them were Walloons or people from the Belgian Netherlands, who had escaped from Spanish tyranny into the freer air of the Dutch republic. No more devout or earnestly religious people ever crossed the Atlantic Ocean to found a new commonwealth. They had other ideas than those of trade. Most Dutch ships at this time had

on board a chaplain, and worship, prayer, and song were the rule. The Bible, the Heidelberg Catechism, and later the little book of Grotius on the Evidences of the Christian Religion, were usually to be found on board.

Ship after ship followed that of the first pioneer voyagers, all full of eager young colonists, who went out to make homes in the New World, expecting to enjoy the same rights and privileges as in Patria. Here are some of the ships' names: *Faith, Love, Concord, Sacred Heart, John the Baptist, Pear Tree, Spotted Cow, Flower of Gelderland, Beaver, Gilded Otter, Market Gardener, Orange Tree, Gilded Beaver, Brown Fish, Golden Eagle, Fox*, etc. It happened in New Netherland, as afterwards in the United States, that the first immigrants were of fine stock and good character, but, later on, the quality degenerated, and there followed a very mixed company of people. These latter gathered especially on Manhattan Island. They were far more lusty after liquor and greedy of gain than law-abiding. Made up of many nationalities, they were in character like the floating population usually found in seaport towns.

While the officers of the West India Company, who were often narrow-minded and tyrannical, and the sailor population from many countries, without homes or ideas beyond present gain, lived in New Amsterdam, the mass of New Netherlanders had homes and farms in the Mohawk, Hudson, and Raritan valleys, and on Long Island. It was these

God-fearing, industrious freemen who formed the majority of the Dutch in America, and who were determined, against the wish of the corporation, "John Company" and its servants, to have self-government. As compared with the people pictured by caricaturists like Irving and the cartoonists in the funny papers, these people, for qualities that make good Americans, were the equals of any who came from Europe in the 17th century to begin the United States of America. The people in a republic are always greater than its rulers, and it is about the people of New Netherland, rather than about their pompous officials, or quarrelling sailors, or hard drinkers, that our story of the forty-one years of the Dutch colony of New Netherland concerns itself.

These settlers from the republic did not fly from religious persecution at home, for, in Holland, toleration had already been won. Although the State Church was the Reformed, there was freedom of religion or liberty of conscience for all. Furthermore, freedom of the press, the free public schools, and some other privileges of citizenship, far ahead of anything then known in Europe, were the inheritances of every Dutchman. Let us see, then, what they brought with them, and set up on a new soil, what happened to them, what they did, and what they gave to the making of the American nation, of which we are part.

The Dutch, who did not have any kings and

cared little for nobles and more for greatness in the families of citizens, are very fond of heraldry; so the province of New Netherland was given for its arms a shield, bearing the figure of a beaver, and over the shield a count's coronet.

The pioneer families of 1623 numbered thirty, and were under the care of Captain Cornelius J. May, after whom Cape May is named. As several couples were married during the voyage, there were enough for three "concentrations," as the Dutch called their settlements. Twelve families made their homes on Manhattan Island, eighteen on the north, or Hudson's River, and a few went south, and on the Delaware River, near the present city of Gloucester, built Fort Nassau. Within one year the furs sent back from America to Holland were valued at 28,000 guilders, or what would now be about \$50,000. Other emigrants soon followed, and settlements were made in other places.

The first and main business of the New Netherlanders was trade with the Indians for furs. It was a great day in the Iroquois villages when it was known that the palefaces would sell guns, powder, hatchets, and kettles in return for what could be easily got by hunting and trapping. At first, the Indians always made the journey to the Dutch settlements, bringing their peltries, or dried furs, to make exchange for beads, mirrors, kettles, tools, blankets, dress-goods, warm cloth called strouds, and duffles, paint, guns, powder, lead, and other things

needed in the wigwam. Besides the common furs for warmth and ornament which every one in Europe wanted, and the finer kind which only very rich merchants, kings, nobles, judges, and others high in office must have, a great deal of beaver was required for the making of hats. In the old country this animal, though once very abundant, had become scarce; but in America thousands of streams were rich in both beaver dams and beavers. Soon, in New Netherland, beaver skin became the standard of value and was used like money. The printers, too, had a habit of weaving fur-trimmed overcoats, a fashion which Dr. Franklin later imitated.

The Dutch also made the discovery that the Iroquois Indians had a form of currency which they called wampum. This was made of blue-and-white shell drilled and strung together into strings and belts. The Dutchmen taught the Pilgrims in New England how to get and use this currency, while they themselves, with their lathes and drills, soon made large quantities of shell-money, so that, as compared with the original Indian stock, the Dutch-made wampum was as plentiful as is our paper money compared with gold. To stimulate trade, many a young man was sent out from the settlements to the distant Indian villages. This "bos-loper," or forest ranger, who penetrated to the distant rivers and lakes, was the original of our smart, brainy, well-dressed "commercial traveller" of to-day. Most of the early fortunes in the Middle states were made

in furs ; in New England, in fish ; in Virginia, in tobacco.

In other ways, the new colonists were very enterprising. The Dutch were the great brickmakers of Europe ; and, as their outgoing cargoes from Patria were light, they brought the red and black glazed bricks and tiles as ballast, and with them they built durable houses, of which a few still remain in the Middle states. Usually they had a weathercock on the house-gable. On their church buildings they reared the cock of St. Nicholas, or of Santa Claus, the symbol of hope, of light, and of the resurrection. The Dutch festival of Santa Claus, not at Christmas, but on December 6, was always joyously celebrated with many cookies for the young folks. So also was Kirmsis, or Christmas. On New Year's Day friendly calls were made on one another, and this salutation, written or spoken, was given : —

“ I wish you a happy New Year ;
 Long may you live,
 Much may you give,
 Happy may you die,
 And enter Heaven by and by.”

Being for the most part people of taste, and lovers of art and comfort, the Dutch imported glass window-panes, carved furniture, many household articles to make things cosy, and the spinning-wheel, which was then as new and wonderful as the cotton-weaving machinery in our mills is to-day. Their

dress, of white linen and woollen cloth, was warm, comfortable, neat, and picturesque, and there were no better-clothed people, or any with such a store of linen and underclothing, as the Dutch in America, nor were any better fed. How wonderful it must have seemed to the sachems, and better sort of Indians, who were allowed to come inside of the finer houses and eat a rich dinner of turkey and venison, or mutton and turnips, "oliekoecks," cookies, pies, puddings, and what not, browned in a Dutch oven, or buckwheat cakes hot from the griddle. At the trading counter of the warehouse, any Indian could come and barter his wares for whatever on the trader's shelves struck his fancy.

While trade was the chief purpose in planting the colony, yet the New Netherlanders had other ideas in mind. They were most of them earnest Christian people, and one of their ardent hopes was to convert the Indians to Christianity. Among the most interesting phases of life were the domines' classes of Iroquois Indian children for the study of the Catechism, and the translations of parts of the Bible and of the order of worship into the Mohawk dialect. There were many Indian Christian families, especially at Schenectady.

After Captain May, the pioneer, and his successor, Verhulst, the civil governor, Peter Minuit, came over to organize regular forms of government. True to the settled Dutch custom, he brought with him two church officers, named comforters of the

sick, who should act until the regular domine, or minister, should come, for it was expected that every Dutch colony, no matter in what part of the world it was, whether in Africa, Formosa, Java, the West Indies, or Ceylon, should have a church and school, at the earliest opportunity. The names of these comforters of the sick were Sebastian J. Krol and Johan Huyck. Their calling was to cheer the sorrowful, and minister to all who were in illness, reading texts from the Bible, and parts of Scripture, to help those in the hour and article of death to die happily. They also read the prayers, in the beautiful liturgy of the Reformed Dutch Church, and on Sunday they conducted divine service.

Governor Minuit had himself been a deacon in the Reformed Church at Wesel, in which city he had been born of Huguenot parents in 1580. This Christian merchant and pioneer was well fitted to lay the foundations of church and state in New Netherland. Receiving his commission on December 19, 1625, he set to work at once to collect seeds, plants, and animals, and the best kind of tools and machines. Sailing for America, he arrived on May 4, 1626. Carrying out the directions of the West India Company's charter, he called the Indians together, and bought of them all the land on the island of Manhattan for \$24, a sum which would now be worth four or five times that amount, and to the Indians must have seemed a fortune. He sent to Governor Bradford at Plymouth presents of sugar and Dutch

cheese, and proposed reciprocal trade. Business began to flourish, and the Iroquois and Dutch became good friends. A mill was built to grind grain into flour and corn into meal for "suppawn" or hasty pudding. Beside their windmills, the Dutch, who wanted to do things quickly and not wait till the wind blew, had a horse to do the grinding on any day or on any hour, as the people brought in their grist. It was in this famous horse mill that religious services were at once begun and the church met. Remembering the grand edifices and mighty congregations of the old country, they enjoyed the modest meeting-house in their new home, and had religious privileges from the very beginning. Both the good governor and these two church officers are to-day commemorated in superb mosaic tablets in the Middle Dutch Church, on Second Avenue, in New York City.

In 1626, there were thirty houses, the factory or chief edifice being of stone and the others of timber or bark.

The people, longing for good sermons and a settled pastor, had their desires gratified in 1628, when on April 7 the Rev. Jonas Michaelius arrived and quickly organized a church from among the 270 people living on Manhattan Island. Domine Michaelius was the first of a long line of highly educated, university-bred pastors, in New Netherland. He had been graduated at Leyden, the city in which the Pilgrim Fathers lived and learned

so much. Born in 1577, he was at this time fifty-one years old. In the church consistory, as the governing council of a Reformed Church is called, there were two elders and one deacon, and he, according to rule, was president. At the first communion of the Lord's Supper, fifty persons were present, most of whom had brought their church letters from the dear old homeland. As many among the Dutch were Walloons, this scholarly pastor preached and spoke in both Dutch and French. His first letter home shows how earnest he and his fellow-Christians were about the conversion of the Indians.

In the beginning, the Synod of North Holland had charge of churches in the colonies and foreign countries, but gradually it fell to the Classis of Amsterdam to provide churches with ministers, schoolmasters, and comforters of the sick. Large numbers of these men were sent abroad to the East and West Indies, to Africa, and to America, for the little settlements in New Netherland were among the smallest in the interests of the great West India Company. Long afterwards, and down to the time of the American Revolution, this noble company of clergy and laymen helped, with their money and sympathy, tens of thousands of Dutch, German, Walloon, Huguenots, and poor Scotch and English emigrants to America. No one religious corporation in Europe did more for our country in its colonial days. Their committee of deputies for foreign

affairs was kept constantly busy. They maintained a continuous correspondence and oversight until the War of the Revolution. The Classis of Amsterdam adopted a seal, showing the olive branch lying upon the open Bible and sprouting up out of it with the words, "Veritas et Pax," and the date, "1638." Inside the beaded circle was the Hebrew word for Jehovah, and around the extreme circumference a floral wreath, or heart-in-heart design. The company paid the salaries of the ministers, schoolmasters, and comforters of the sick, but the church edifices and their care were matters for the colonists themselves to look after.

These Dutch colonists had always been accustomed to a good deal of freedom, for Holland had been for ages full of city republics, with liberties secured by charters granted by the old counts, who, in the Middle Ages, were the lords and owners of the land. They had come from a country in which printing was free, books, pictures, and engravings were plentiful, and where free schools, sustained by public taxation, gave education to all the children up to the age of twelve. Though aristocracy might rule in the city government and among the officers of the "John Company," democracy was the law and spirit in the church and community. To these people, cleanliness was next to godliness. They loved their church and what they believed to be sound doctrine, because they and their ancestors had fought for the truth, as they saw it, and

many of their fathers and relatives had lost their lives in the Inquisition or on the battle-field against the Spaniards. They were taught to make home the most comfortable place on earth, to love flowers and all things beautiful on the earth, to be law-abiding, honest, chaste, and devout, and to "turn to the right as the law directs," which law was on the city statutes. They loved books and delighted in scholars and learned preachers, and were proud of their great universities at Leyden, Utrecht, Groningen, Harderwyck, and Franeker, which were famous throughout Europe.

When the second director arrived, in 1633, there were already children born in New Netherland old enough to need school instruction. So with Governor Wouter van Twiller came Adam Roelandse, the first schoolmaster. A new church edifice was erected inside of the fort, near the East River, in what is now Broad Street, between East and Pearl. In nearly every Dutch settlement there was sure to be a Broadway, a Maiden's Lane, a Wall Street, and a Handler's or Trader's Street. A corner was called a "hoek," or hook, like Corlaer's Hook, named after Jacobus van Corlaer, one of the schoolmasters of New Netherland; and a bend was called a "boght," or bout, as in the Wallabout of Brooklyn. There was also likely to be a Ferry or Bridge Street leading to the river. There were not only Amsterdam, Harlem, and Bloomingdale, right in a row on Manhattan Island, just as

there is in Holland, but even in its triple line of canals in half circles, and in its general shape, the Manhattan Amsterdam on the Hudson was like the mother city on the river Y in Patria.

Above all, the Dutch folks were good church people, and the honorable and affectionate term which they used in addressing their scholarly pastors was "domine," which is simply the Latin "dominus," used in the vocative, and this term is still common, though our unrevised dictionaries and people unfamiliar with the use of the term spell it "dominie," which is the Scotch word for schoolmaster.

Some of the most famous domines in New Netherland were Everardus Bogardus, J. Megapolensis, Henry Selyns, Samuel Drisius, Gideon Schaets, J. T. Polhemus. It was especially stipulated in some cases, before leaving Holland, that these ministers should labor to convert the Indians to Christianity. Within thirty-six years from the arrival of the first domine, there were fully organized churches supplied by learned ministers at Manhattan, Fort Orange, New Amstel in Delaware, Brooklyn, Gravesend, Flatbush, Flatland, Esopus, Bergen, Harlem, Bushwick, Staten Island, and in Governor Stuyvesant's "bowery," or farm. Later on, Dutch churches increased in numbers. Besides the domine, the "Jeffrouw," or minister's wife, was prominent in the social life of the community. When she entered the church edifice, the people

arose in respectful courtesy. At church, the members of the Consistory, elders and deacons, sat in pews on the right and left hand of the pulpit, and the magistrates occupied a raised seat by themselves. The assistants to the minister — the fore-reader, who read the psalms, the creed, and the commandments, and the fore-singer, who started the tunes for the singing of the psalms — were important personages in the church, and so was the sexton. The sermon usually consisted of two parts, the introduction and the application. Two collections of money were taken, one for the support of the church and one for the poor. All children were baptized when they were very young. When able to read, they were duly instructed in the Catechism. The churches were not warmed in winter, but each lady had a footstove, which was usually carried by a black servant.

No other form of religion than the Reformed was supported in New Netherland or publicly acknowledged, but full freedom was given to each man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. If a governor, like Stuyvesant, for example, persecuted Lutherans and Quakers, he was immediately rebuked for his bigotry in an official letter which expressed the noble principle laid down by William the Silent as early as 1577: "The consciences of men ought to remain free and unshackled. Let every one remain free, as long as he is modest, moderate, his political con-

duct irreproachable, and as long as he does not offend others or oppose the government."

The domines, as ministers, represented the democratic spirit of the people as against the foolish, tyrannical, and money-loving officers of the company. Domine Bogardus did not hesitate to denounce in his pulpit Governor van Twiller, who was a fussy, weak, and vain man.

When Governor Wilhelm Kieft came over in 1638, he proved to be a cruel and wicked man, who got up a needless war against the Indians and had a number of them massacred in cold blood. For two years the colony was thus disturbed and devastated and lost in population. Kieft's acts were the cruellest ever committed within the province, and Domine Bogardus roundly denounced him for his official folly and wickedness.

The wife of Domine Bogardus was the famous Anneke Jans, whose estate is now in possession of the corporation of Trinity Church, one of the richest church organizations in America. Having stood on the side of the people's rights, and denounced Kieft for his murderous slaughter of the Indians in 1643, he won the ill-will of that officer. The governor and some of the officers remained away from church services and excited parties of men to drum and shout during the time of worship. He summoned Bogardus to trial and refused the domine the right of appeal to the Fatherland. When Kieft sailed away with his ill-gotten gains, and "boedle," as the

Dutch call any property or possessions, the domine went on the same ship to Holland, but the vessel was wrecked on the coast of Wales and both men were lost.

It had been against the judgment of most good people that the new church, which cost 2500 guilders, was built inside the fort, instead of out in the town. It was Governor Kieft who put up the inscription, in bad Dutch, which read that, "In the year, 1642, Wilhelm Kieft, the Director-General, the congregation caused to build this temple."

Domine Megapolensis, one of the most learned men that ever came to the colonies, studied the language of the Mohawks and preached the Gospel in their language. He began his ministry three years before John Eliot in New England. Another noted personage was Adrian van der Donck, a graduate of Leyden University, a highly educated man and a lawyer. One of the most picturesque servants of the company was the trumpeter, with his gay costume, his shining brass or silver trumpet, with its orange, white, and blue pennant of silk. Anthony van Curler, one of the three Van Curlers famous in the New Netherland, statesman, schoolmaster, and trumpeter, is the best known. His famous little "scrap" in the fort and Van Curler's personality have been magnified by Irving into a mighty story, as funny as it is unhistorical.

New Netherland did not grow very fast during the first few years, and the stockholders in the Dutch

West India Company were disappointed in their little North American venture. The chief reason for this was that few emigrants wanted to leave Patria, where life was easy and pleasant. There was no good reason why Dutchmen should want to forsake their own country. They need not fly for the sake of religious freedom, for that they already had won at home and they gave to all who came to their shores. There was plenty to eat and drink, the republic was getting rich, and it was not difficult to earn a living in the land behind the dikes. Furthermore, the Republican army and navy were continually winning victories over the Spaniards, and with booty on land and prize money at sea, offered such attractions for young men, that America rather sank in the background. Some new plan must be made to tempt colonists and make New Netherland flourish.

This was done in 1629 by forming "a charter of freedom and exemptions," which allowed any member of the West India Company, who should plant a colony of fifty adults in any portion of New Netherland, outside of Manhattan Island, to be a patroon (the Dutch way of spelling patron), or semi-feudal landlord of such a territory. His land might extend sixteen miles along any navigable river or eight miles on each side if both banks were occupied, and as far back into the country as he pleased. Each patroon must, with his colonists, have a church and school, and support a minister and schoolmaster.

Until the domine came, there must be a comforter of the sick. At first offered to members of the company who did not own land in Holland, this privilege was extended to others in the company, and in 1640, to any New Netherlander, who would plant such a colony.

At once, a number of rich men appropriated large tracts of land, and soon there were several of these feudal manors along the Hudson River, the best known of which are those of Van Rensselaer, Van Cortlandt, Blommaert, Bodyn, and Paavw (Pavonia). The largest and most flourishing manor was the first named, in the region around Albany. Adrian van der Donck's manor was known as the "jonkheer's land," or as it is now called, Yonkers. This gentleman, when in Holland, in 1649, wrote a book about the country, which gave much clear information to the people in Patria, and greatly stimulated emigration. De Laet, one of the company, also wrote a book descriptive of the New World. Indeed, the number of books written by literary gentlemen in New Netherland, many of whom were admirable Latin scholars, and employed their pens in prose and verse, is remarkable. A number of excellent maps were also made. The "Anthology of New Netherland," containing poetry, descriptive and historical writings, is well worthy of study.

This patroon system of colonizing a country was utterly against the spirit of the age in Holland, and was not only opposed to the democratic ideas of the

Dutch, but was founded on pure selfishness. No wonder that it worked so badly. Out of the several manors planned, only one became successful, that of Rensselaerswyck. This was largely through the energy and personal influence of Arendt van Curler, who was a scholar, a man of affairs, a friend of the Indians, and a far-seeing statesman. The first to explore the Mohawk Valley and to understand clearly the wonderful Iroquois confederacy, he set in operation on the Hudson River a line of swift canoes to bring speedily the new colonists from Manhattan Island to the northern manor. When he heard of the French Jesuit Father Jogues in captivity among the Mohawks, in danger of torture and a horrible death, Van Curler raised the ransom of six hundred guilders by his own personal solicitations, and saved his life.

Nevertheless, although he served his patroon, Kilian van Rensselaer, so faithfully, Van Curler was opposed to the semi-feudalism of the patroon system, and, after marrying and visiting Holland, he returned and led a number of free-spirited Dutch colonists, who preferred to own their own lands in fee simple, and settled Schenectady. This town the Indians called "Corlaer," and Lake Champlain, in which he was drowned in 1667, "Corlaer's Lake." His neat and scholarly writings are still preserved in Albany, and his letters in polished Dutch are models of fine language.

The last governor, and the one best known in

history, was Peter Stuyvesant, a soldier, who had lost a limb in the war with Spain. His carved wooden leg was decorated with silver, so the people playfully called him "Silver Nails." Arriving in 1647, his first work was to call Arendt van Curler to his aid and make peace with the Indians. He established the boundary line between New Netherland and New England, and attacked and drove away the Swedes who had settled on the Delaware River. Although honest, fearless, and fatherly, Stuyvesant did not sympathize either with the popular party in Holland or with the longings of the people of New Netherland for self-government. Meanwhile the tide of democracy was rising, while the defences of New Amsterdam were weakened by the neglect of the West India Company. This was an opportunity long looked for by the treacherous British king, Charles II, who in 1664 granted to his brother, the Duke of York, and afterwards King James II, whom the English people dethroned and drove out of the kingdom, a charter of land which included all the territory in New Netherland.

Although it was a time of peace, the British fleet entered New York harbor in August and took possession of the defenceless fort and town. In the negotiations, the rights of the Dutch were guarded, so that no state church was fastened on the new city and province called New York. Thousands of Dutchmen, not willing to live under the new government, returned to Holland, but probably the major-

ity remained, to add their ideas, institutions, blood, character, and inheritances to the great composite of many nationalities which has formed the American people. Instinct with the principles of the free republic of Holland, which gave our fathers so many inspiring precedents and examples, the Dutch in New Netherland, though but forty-one years under the government of the West India Company, and numbering probably over seven thousand actual settlers, were not least as makers of the United States of America.





THE PILGRIM FATHERS

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THE PILGRIM FATHERS

“NEXT to the fugitives whom Moses led out of Egypt,” wrote James Russell Lowell a generation ago, “the little shipload of outcasts who landed at Plymouth two centuries and a half ago are destined to influence the future of the world. The spiritual thirst of mankind has for ages been quenched at Hebrew fountains; but the embodiment in human institutions of truths uttered by the Son of Man eighteen centuries ago was to be mainly the work of Puritan thought and Puritan self-devotion.” It is a high definition of the destiny and office in human history of the great republic of which the landing of the Plymouth Pilgrims was a prophecy and for which their principles and brave enterprise were the first distinct preparation. In the analogy which it draws between that crisis in the Old Testament history, the exodus of Israel from Egypt for the promised land, and the exodus of our fathers from Europe for America, and in the relation which it emphasizes between the political purpose and significance of Puritanism and the revolutionary truths of Christianity, it fixes our thought upon the essentially religious nature of our origin. And indeed never was there in all political history a

more religious chapter. Only the story of Bethlehem is tenderer and holier than the story of Plymouth; only Peter and James and John and their fellow-fishermen are saints who come closer to the homely human heart than Brewster and Bradford and Standish and Carver; and the marriage at Cana of Galilee affects our sentiment hardly more than the marriage of John and Priscilla. Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation" is our New England Old Testament,—our Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, and Judges. So Bible-like, indeed, is its first book in tone and temper, that there are whole chapters of it which would not be unworthy of the Deuteronomist.

When we turn to the Genesis part of this Old Testament of ours, to learn where the Mayflower church had its cradle, we read, after Bradford's general introduction upon the Reformation and the Puritan beginnings:—

"By the travail and diligence of some godly and zealous preachers, and God's blessing on their labors, as in other places of the land, so in the North parts, many became enlightened by the word of God, and had their ignorance and sins discovered unto them, and began by his grace to reform their lives and make conscience of their ways. . . . They shook off this yoke of anti-Christian bondage, and as the Lord's free people joined themselves, by a covenant of the Lord, into a church estate, in the fellowship of the gospel, to walk in all his ways made known

or to be made known unto them, according to their best endeavors. . . . These people became two distinct bodies or churches, and in regard of distance of place did congregate severally ; for they were of sundry towns and villages, some in Nottinghamshire, some of Lincolnshire, and some of Yorkshire, where they border nearest together. In one of these churches, besides others of note, was Mr. John Smith, a man of able gifts and a good preacher, who afterwards was chosen their pastor. But these afterwards falling into some errors in the Low Countries, there, for the most part, buried themselves and their names. But in this other church, which must be the subject of our discourse, besides other worthy men, was Mr. Richard Clifton, a grave and reverend preacher, who by his pains and diligence had done much good, and under God had been a means of the conversion of many ; and also that famous and worthy man, Mr. John Robinson, who afterwards was their pastor for many years, till the Lord took him away by death ; also Mr. William Brewster, a reverent man, who afterwards was chosen an elder of the church and lived with them till old age."

This is the authoritative story of the beginning. To it all other accounts lead back, and by it all others must be measured. Where was it in "the North parts" of England that our Pilgrim Fathers first came together and started upon the course which was to be so illustrious? Where were the "sundry towns and villages, some in Nottingham-

shire, some of Lincolnshire, and some of Yorkshire, where they border nearest together"? We should expect that Bradford would mention fondly the names of the old homes. But "one of these churches" and "this other church" are the only references and only clues. The references seem almost purposely mysterious and enigmatical, as if there were some reason to conceal the places where the two congregations gathered. Gainsborough and Scrooby are nowhere mentioned in the book, and Austerfield and Bawtry and Babworth are not mentioned. They are nowhere mentioned in any of the writings of the Pilgrims, whose thoughts in the hard, sad Plymouth winters surely must often have turned back affectionately and longingly to the green fields and little villages of Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire, where so many of them had passed their early years, and where they had first been "enlightened by the word of God." So silent were they all about the early English home, so little apparently was said about it in the Plymouth households, that the very tradition ceased; and for a century before 1849 there was probably not a soul in Plymouth or in New England who could have told whence it was in England that the Pilgrim Fathers came.

But it was impossible that the cradle of a life so great and venerated should remain hidden from men's knowledge; and in 1849 it was discovered, discovered by one to whom those who revere the Pilgrim Fathers are under double obligation, for it

was he who six years later identified for our Massachusetts scholars the long-lost Bradford manuscript, — Rev. Joseph Hunter of London. It was his little pamphlet upon "The Founders of New Plymouth" which first, after the long ignorance, revealed Scrooby to us as the Pilgrim Bethlehem.

He had two clues to what he sought. First, Cotton Mather had included in his "Magnalia" a brief life of William Bradford, who, he said, "was born in an obscure village called Ansterfield. When he was about a dozen years old, the reading of the Scriptures began to cause great impressions upon him; and those impressions were much assisted and improved when he came to enjoy Master Richard Clyfton's illuminating ministry not far from his abode." The name Ansterfield was what misled, because no such place could be found. Joseph Hunter found that this was a misprint of Austerfield; for in Yorkshire, close to the Nottinghamshire border, lies the village of Austerfield, and in its parish register is the record of the baptism of William Bradford, March 19, 1589.

The second clue was supplied by Bradford himself, who in his history tells that the little Pilgrim congregation "ordinarily met" on the Lord's day at William Brewster's house, "which was a manor of the bishop's." Now was there or had there been "a manor of the bishop's" at any point not far from the abode of William Bradford at Austerfield? Yes, precisely such a house, well known to fame, had

stood in the village of Scrooby, only two miles south of Austerfield. John Leland, the famous antiquary, had visited Scrooby in his travels, and in his account, written in 1538, speaks of the two things which he marked in the "mean townlet": first, the parish church, "not big, but very well builded"; and second, "a great manor place, standing within a moat, and belonging to the Archbishop of York, builded into courts, whereof the first is very ample, and all builded of timber, saving the front of the hall, that is of brick." It must indeed have been a "great place," for an inventory of the implements in "the 39 chambers or apartments of the manor-house at Scrooby" in 1535 is calendared in the *Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII*. As Leland describes the place, such it must have been when Cardinal Wolsey made it the place of his retirement in 1530, when he sought to bury himself in the country, away from Henry's wrath and observation; and essentially such it probably was seventy years later, when William Brewster, the postmaster of Scrooby, made it his home, and young William Bradford used to walk to it from Austerfield. Seventy years later still, it remained a memory, but little more. Robert Thoroton, writing of Scrooby in his "Antiquities of Nottinghamshire," in 1677, says: "Here within memory stood a very fair palace, a far greater house of receipt and a better seat for provision than Southwell, and had attending to it the North Soke, consisting of very

many towns thereabouts. It hath a fair park belonging to it. Archbishop Sandys caused it to be demised to his son, Sir Samuel Sandys, since which the house hath been demolished almost to the ground."

This was "the manor of the bishop's" named by Bradford as the home of William Brewster, where the Pilgrim congregation "ordinarily met" at the beginning, in its old English home, before the flight to Holland; for investigation quickly proved that William Brewster, our Elder Brewster, had been postmaster of Scrooby from 1594 — later investigation says 1589 — until the 30th of September, 1607, when he resigned the office. The office of post or postmaster in the England of Elizabeth was something quite different from the office of postmaster now. It had to do not only with the forwarding of messages, but with the general provision for public travel, and was an office of much dignity and consequence. September 30, 1607, was just before the unfortunate attempt of Brewster and a large company of his persecuted associates, many of them members of the later Mayflower congregation, to get passage at old Boston for Holland. Brewster and half a dozen of the leaders were thrown into prison at Boston, it will be remembered, after that unhappy miscarriage; but the next spring — the spring of 1608 — a good part of the company succeeded, although in terrible plight, in getting aboard a Dutch vessel which was secretly in waiting for

them at the mouth of the Humber, somewhere between Grimsby and Hull, and after a fearful voyage of a fortnight reached Holland ; and those who were left behind, after cruel persecutions and sufferings, "all got over at length, some at one time and some at another, and some in one place and some in another, and met together again."

The little Nottinghamshire village of Scrooby, 152 miles from London, on the "Great North Road" from London to Berwick-on-Tweed—with Bawtry and Bradford's Austerfield one and two miles north, in Yorkshire ; with Richard Clifton's Babworth eight miles south ; and with Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire (the St. Oggs of George Eliot's "Mill on the Floss"), the place of John Smith's congregation, a dozen miles east ; Lincoln and its great cathedral on the hill thirty miles away, almost half-way to old Boston,—little Scrooby, nestling to-day in the green fields about the same gray church spire on which William Brewster looked, was the cradle of the Pilgrim movement.

When did the movement begin ? Nathaniel Morton, distinguished as the secretary of the Plymouth colony, who came over from England, a boy of twelve, with his family, in 1623, who knew the Fathers and their history well, and in the preface to his "New England's Memorial," published at our Cambridge in 1669, styles Governor Bradford "my much-honored uncle," begins that work with these words : "In the year 1602, divers godly Christians

of our English nation, in the north of England, being studious of reformation, and therefore not only witnessing against human inventions and additions in the worship of God, but minding most the positive and practical parts of divine institutions, they entered into covenant to walk with God, and one with another, in the enjoyment of the ordinances of God, according to the primitive pattern in the word of God."

This is one definite statement about the time. Another is in Bradford's own account, at the close of his story of the persecutions to which the little company were subjected on account of their independent religious position and withdrawal from the national church, persecutions becoming at last so severe and intolerable as to compel them "to go into the Low Countries, where, they heard, was freedom of religion for all men." Bradford says, "So after they had continued together about a year, and kept their meetings every Sabbath in one place or other, exercising the worship of God amongst themselves, notwithstanding all the diligence and malice of their adversaries, they seeing they could no longer continue in that condition, resolved to get over into Holland as they could, which was in the year 1607 and 1608."

"About a year," then, before 1607, Bradford tells us, the Scrooby church was formed, — that is, we may understand, as a "distinct church." "In the year 1602" it was, according to Morton, that the "divers

godly Christians in the North of England," who, according to Bradford, "became two distinct bodies," — the Gainsborough and Scrooby congregations, — "entered into covenant to walk with God and one another." We may accept both statements as accurate and consistent. For five or six years before the flight to Holland, these north country Independents, loosely and informally associated in the bond of the simplest covenant, had been striving together to walk in God's ways with a new seriousness and devotion, according to democratic principles and methods never before so completely and impressively adopted, and indeed hardly accepted before, in the modern world. Meeting informally, as they could, at the beginning, profiting as they could by the occasional ministrations of Richard Clyfton, who became rector of Babworth in 1586, a little before Brewster became postmaster of Scrooby, reënforced presently by John Robinson coming north from Norwich, — in the years between 1602 and 1606, the little Scrooby company developed into an organized church, and in that period a regular congregational organization also took form at Gainsborough. The controversialists have much to say as to whether the Scrooby organization or the Gainsborough one came first, as to the exact year when John Smyth came to Gainsborough, and when Richard Clyfton joined William Brewster at Scrooby, and as to whether John Robinson, when he came north in 1604, went to Gainsborough for a time before he came to Scrooby. But

we here are not much interested in these fine points. We are, however, deeply interested in the fact that in the half-dozen years at the beginning of the seventeenth century the little church at Scrooby gradually came into being; and we are interested in William Brewster and John Robinson and William Bradford, the three most influential and memorable men who had to do with it,—the father of the Pilgrim Fathers, the Pilgrim pastor, and him who, by and by, at Plymouth, was to be their governor and historian.

The father of the Pilgrim Fathers, William Brewster, — what had his history been during the twenty-nine years before he became postmaster of Scrooby in 1589? for he was twenty-nine years old that year, born in 1560, which was four years before Shakespeare was born and Calvin died. It is important to name Calvin here; for it was the doctrines of Calvin, that were pouring into England at the very time that William Brewster was born, which created English Puritanism and then created the Independency which gave birth to the Scrooby church, and by and by sent the *Mayflower* to New England.

We do not know where William Brewster was born. We do know that his father was postmaster of Scrooby before himself; but very likely he moved there from the eastern counties some time after the birth of his son. William Brewster studied at the University of Cambridge, then the chief stronghold of English Puritanism. He must

have been at Cambridge just as Robert Browne was beginning to preach the doctrines of Independency, which a generation later were to bear fruit in the Mayflower church; and at Cambridge it was that he was "first seasoned with the seeds of grace and virtue." He went from Cambridge to London, to enter the service of Sir William Davison, Elizabeth's famous minister, with whom he remained until Davison fell into disfavor, most unjustly, in connection with the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots; and then he retired to Scrooby. The period of his life at court was a most eventful one, in the midst of the brilliant Elizabethan age, the time of Shakespeare and Spenser and Bacon and Sidney and Raleigh, of Martin Frobisher and Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Francis Drake, all of whom young William Brewster may have often met in London. It was the time of Henry IV and the Huguenots in France, and of the great war of the Dutch republic against Spain, in which Englishmen took such deep interest. William the Silent was assassinated the very year that William Brewster came to court; and a year later Brewster accompanied Davison on an important diplomatic mission to Holland, visiting many of the places which he was to know a quarter of a century later as an exile. His position with Davison, who loved him as a friend, was one of peculiar trust. That he should have passed directly from Cambridge to so responsible and high a place implies important

family influence and fine abilities; and this public experience and brilliant court life point a striking contrast with the bleak, hard life at Plymouth, to which the heroic scholar was driven a generation later for conscience' sake.

Coming to little Scrooby from London, the devout Brewster was deeply stirred by the religious destitution of the region. Still a faithful member of the Church of England, he worked to secure good preachers for the neighborhood, and made generous gifts for the improvement of the churches. But he gradually revolted from the perfunctory life and services of the Established Church; and in 1606 we find the little Independent congregation fully organized in the old Scrooby manor-house which was his home.

In Holland, where Robinson was pastor of the little flock, Brewster was made the elder; and as such — Robinson not accompanying the Pilgrims to Plymouth — he was the religious leader and minister of the people at Plymouth during all the early years, and almost to the time of his death in 1644. There is not in all our history a more beautiful character; and there is not in all our literature a tenderer or more touching tribute than that of Bradford to him in his Journal at the time of his death. He was emphatically a scholar. At Leyden he prepared an English grammar and taught English to students in the university. He established there also a secret press, where he printed and sent

into England many books setting forth the Puritan doctrines in church and state. His library at Plymouth was a remarkable one, the interesting catalogue of it having come down to us. No more interesting figure appears in our early annals than that of the Elder of Plymouth, the father of the Pilgrim Fathers, — no life with more pathetic contrasts, none more self-sacrificing, none nobler, loftier, holier, or more venerable.

John Robinson, the Pilgrim pastor, had been, like Brewster, a student at the University of Cambridge. He became a Puritan, and then a Separatist. He ministered for a time at Norwich, which was a great Puritan centre, full of Dutch refugees who had fled from the Spanish persecutions; and probably in 1604 he found his way to "the godly Christians in the north of England." Some think that he was a native of Gainsborough, and that this was why he went to the north; and some think that he ministered to the congregation at Gainsborough before he associated himself with William Brewster and the little church in the old manor-house at Scrooby, of which Richard Clyfton was the pastor. With Clyfton and Brewster and young William Bradford and the rest, he soon escaped to Holland; and, after the unhappy year at Amsterdam, he led the little Pilgrim company to Leyden. He was held in high esteem by the scholars of the University of Leyden and by the Puritan thinkers in England; and his books and tracts defending Inde-

pendency were among the ablest of the time. He wrote, too, many admirable essays, which have come down to us, upon social, moral, and educational subjects. His mind was one of rare breadth and strength and charity; and no other man influenced the Pilgrims so deeply, both in their religious and political thought. He did not go with them to Plymouth, remaining instead with the half of the church which stayed in Leyden, where he died in 1625. But he was their most trusted and influential counsellor in all things that related to their removal; his final letters of advice are masterpieces both of godly admonition and of worldly wisdom; while his "farewell address" to the departing Pilgrims at Delfthaven, in which he charged them not to "come to a period in religion," as the Lutherans and Calvinists were doing, but to keep their minds ever open for "more truth and light," is one of our most precious religious classics. On the outer wall of old St. Peter's Church at Leyden, within which he was buried, our American Congregationalists have erected a large bronze tablet in memory of him whose name, as the resolution for the memorial truly said, "will ever head the list of the pastors of the Congregational Churches of the United States"; and directly opposite, at the corner of the little section where many of the Pilgrims built their houses in the years before 1620, another tablet records that "On this spot lived, taught, and died John Robinson, 1611-1625."

William Bradford, the third figure in the great Pilgrim trio, was fifteen years younger than John Robinson, and quite thirty years younger than Brewster, born only when Brewster's London life was over and his Scrooby life begun. Of Robinson we have no early biography; of Brewster, merely the brief memoir in Bradford's *Journal*; of Bradford himself, the life in the "*Magnalia*," by Cotton Mather, whose own life followed Bradford's so closely that he must have known many men who knew him. Bradford was only eighteen years old when he joined Brewster in the flight to Holland. Cotton Mather tells the story of his conversion a few years before, of his zealous piety, and of "the wrath of his uncles, the scoff of his neighbors, and the rage of his friends," which his Puritanism provoked; he tells of the twelve hard years in Holland, and of the thirty-seven years spent in "the services and temptations of the American wilderness."

"Here was Master Bradford, in the year 1621, unanimously chosen the governor of the plantation, the difficulties whereof were such that if he had not been a person of more than ordinary piety, wisdom and courage, he must have sunk under them. He had, with a laudable industry, been laying up a treasure of experiences; and he had now an occasion to use it. Indeed nothing but an experienced man could have been suitable to the necessities of the people. . . . He was indeed a person of a well-tempered spirit, or else it had been scarce possible

for him to have kept the affairs of Plymouth in so good a temper for thirty-seven years together, in every one of which he was chosen their governor, except the three years wherein Master Winslow, and the two years wherein Master Prince, at the choice of the people, took a turn with him. The leader of a people in a wilderness had need to be a Moses; and if a Moses had not led the people of Plymouth colony, when this worthy person was their governor, the people had never with so much unanimity and importunity still called him to lead them."

It is a rare piece of good fortune that the great governor of the Plymouth colony should also have been its historian, and doubly fortunate that as a historian he was so thorough, accurate, judicial, and interesting. Governor Winthrop of the Massachusetts colony is in this his counterpart; and the two histories are unique in the annals of colonization. The story of the manuscript of Bradford's Journal is one of the most extraordinary and romantic in the whole range of literary history. This careful history in manuscript was well known by the Massachusetts scholars of the colonial and provincial periods. Morton drew largely from it in preparing his "New England Memorial"; and Hubbard and Mather used it. In 1728 Thomas Prince, the pastor of the Old South Church in Boston, received it from the governor's grandson, to make use of for his "Chronological History" and to keep in the New

England Library which he was collecting in the "steeple chamber" of the Old South Church. Governor Hutchinson, we know, had access to it in the preparation of his "History of Massachusetts Bay," just before the Revolution. And here we lose sight of the famous manuscript for almost a century; and when it comes to light again, in 1855, when it had long been given up as lost forever, it is in the library of the bishop of London's palace at Fulham on the Thames near London. How did it get there? Some think that it went among Hutchinson's books to London when he left Boston in 1774, and, there discovered, was turned over by him to the bishop of London's library for preservation. Others think it was taken from the Old South tower by some British officer and carried away upon the evacuation of Boston after the siege. We shall probably never know. All can read in the books of the curious chain of chances by which in 1855 it was discovered, and many will remember the efforts of our various American ministers to England to get it back — all resulting in failure, until at last the efforts of Senator Hoar resulted in success. In 1897 the precious manuscript, by special Act of Parliament, was returned to us; and in the Massachusetts State-house, opened at the page where in Bradford's own hand is written the famous Compact signed on board the *Mayflower*, it lies, in its glass case by day, in the strong steel safe at night, the most sacred scripture which deals with the founding of New England.

“ I do not think many Americans will gaze upon it,” said Senator Hoar, on the memorable day when it was delivered back into the hands of the Puritan Commonwealth, “ without a little trembling of the lips and a little gathering of mist in the eyes, as they think of the story of suffering, of sorrow, of peril, of exile, of death, and of lofty triumph which that book tells — which the hand of the great leader and founder of America has traced on those pages. There is nothing like it in human annals since the story of Bethlehem. These Englishmen and English women going out from their homes in beautiful Lincoln and York, wife separated from husband and mother from child in that hurried embarkation for Holland, pursued to the beach by English horsemen ; the thirteen years of exile ; the life at Amsterdam ‘ in alley foul and lane obscure ’ ; the dwelling at Leyden ; the embarkation at Delfthaven ; the farewell of Robinson ; the terrible voyage across the Atlantic ; the compact in the harbor ; the landing on the rock ; the dreadful first winter ; the death roll of more than half their number ; the days of suffering and of famine ; the wakeful night, listening for the yell of wild beast and the war-whoop of the savage ; the building of the state on those sure foundations which no wave or tempest has ever shaken ; the breaking of the new light ; the dawning of the new day ; the beginning of the new life ; the enjoyment of peace and liberty, — of all these things this is the original record by the hand of our beloved father and

founder. Massachusetts will preserve it until the time shall come that her children are unworthy of it; and that time shall come — never.”

There was never a great movement in human history which was so essentially at the same time both religious and political as Puritanism. It is hard to say whether we think of religion or politics first when we speak the word “Puritan” — whether we think of John Cotton in the pulpit of the Boston meeting-house, or Oliver Cromwell and his Ironsides fighting for the commonwealth. It was in the first place religion. It was an effort to make English religion pure and to clear the church of the superstitions and corruptions which choked her life. It quickly became an attack upon the government of the church itself. There was a long Presbyterian period in the history of English Puritanism. But the real polity of Puritanism, that which it developed and which was characteristic of it, was Independency. It is very common to fail to see this. It is common even to point an antithesis between Independency and Puritanism. Some men in New England itself, especially on Forefathers’ Day, are fond of talking of “the Pilgrims and the Puritans,” as if the Pilgrims were not Puritans and one stood over against the other. The truth is, of course, that the men of Plymouth and the men of Massachusetts Bay were Puritans in different stages of development. The men of the Mayflower church — the men of Scrooby and Leyden — attained at once that com-

plete democracy which other Puritans achieved gradually and long afterwards. The men of Boston and Salem, indeed, however conservative and mixed the notions about bishops and elders with which they left England, had hardly become actually settled in Boston and Salem before they succumbed to the power of Plymouth democracy. They were not only sensible enough to conclude that Independency was a better plant for New England soil in 1630 than Presbyterianism or Episcopacy; but, rightly or wrongly, they seem to have come to the decision remarkably soon that it was the best plant in itself. It would have been hard to say a quarter of a century afterwards that the Puritanism of Massachusetts Bay was less truly Congregationalism or Independency than the church order of the Old Colony. There is surely no doubt that the dominant Puritanism of Old England at that time had become Independency. Cromwell and the army were Independents; Milton and Vane and all the great men of the commonwealth were Independents; and surely the movement in which these men were illustrious figures was a part of the great Puritan movement. Puritanism, in a word, was a movement covering a century and more, and in that century having many phases, taking in alike John Hooper, Thomas Cartwright, and Oliver Cromwell; but in its maturity it was, so far as church matters are concerned, Independency or Congregationalism. Congregationalism is the polity which

truly expresses its logic and its genius; and it is a significant coincidence that in the same year, 1550, when Bishop Hooper, "the first Puritan," declared at Hampton Court that "the usage of generations is not sufficient warrant in religious matters," Robert Browne, the first Independent, was born.

Robert Browne, as an active and influential force, belonged to the generation before the Pilgrim Fathers; but in a study of ideas and their effect in history, even so brief as this, it would be illogical and unbecoming not to cast at least a glance of recognition at the source of those ideas. The source of the ideas which commanded the Scrooby church into being, and steered the *Mayflower* to Plymouth, was the doctrine of democracy in church government, first preached with power by Robert Browne in East England in 1580, and expounded in his two famous treatises on "Reformation without Tarrying for Any" and "The Life and Manners of all True Christians." The close relation of civil and ecclesiastical affairs in the Puritan age gave this democratic doctrine of Robert Browne's a distinct and great importance in the political development of England and New England; and hence these old treatises, which shaped the polity of our Pilgrim Fathers, have high and abiding interest to all of us as American citizens. "Brownists" was what the Pilgrims and the English Independents were long popularly called. They hated and repudiated the name, and with some reason; for

Browne himself apostatized, and his later life was not heroic. But Brownists they were in polity as truly as they were Calvinists in theology.

Robert Browne was born at Tolethorpe in Rutlandshire; but the English places with which he was associated in the period in which he was giving birth to the Congregational idea were in the eastern counties, so closely identified with Puritan history. It was in Cambridge, the Puritan university, that he studied, and seems to have taken his degree in 1572; and it was to Cambridge that he came back for further study, after three years of teaching and preaching to scattered companies in London. In Cambridge he began to preach in an heretical fashion that commanded attention; and here he seems to have come to the conclusion that, if a man felt himself called by God to preach the gospel, he should preach it "to satisfy his conscience and duty, without any regard to license or authority from a bishop." In Cambridge, deeply impressed by the secularism, perfunctoriness, and corruption of church life, he seems to have embraced distinctly the doctrine of Separatism — the conclusion, as he put it, that "the Kingdom of God was not to be begun by whole parishes, but rather of the worthiest, were they never so few." It was at Cambridge, doubtless, that he became acquainted with the Puritan Harrison; and in 1580 he followed Harrison and his wife to Norwich and made his home with them. "And here, in Nor-

wich," says Dr. Dexter, to whom students of the Pilgrim history owe so much, "in this or the following year, by his prompting and under his guidance, was formed the first church in modern days which was intelligently and, as one might say, philosophically Congregational in its platform and processes, he becoming its pastor." Immediately afterwards we find him preaching his heresies at Bury St. Edmunds close by, the old town already renowned in the history of freedom for the oath at its abbey altar of the barons who proceeded to wrest Magna Charta from King John, and made known so well to us in modern days by its place in Carlyle's "Past and Present." In Norwich he came into close association with the Dutch who were fleeing to England in such large numbers from Alva's persecutions, and of whom, in 1580, there were thousands living in Norwich alone. Many writers tell us that Browne first preached his Congregational doctrine in Norwich to the Dutch there; and it is not unlikely that he got some ideas from the Dutchmen, as well as gave them some. It was natural that Browne with his Congregationalism and his opposition to the bishops should soon find himself in trouble; and in very serious trouble he soon was. It was natural, too, that, driven out of England, he should find refuge in Holland, whither all the heretics in that day somehow drifted; and his home for the next two or three years was Middelburgh in Zeeland. In Middelburgh, in

1582, he printed the treatises which expounded his doctrines of Separatism and Congregationalism. His later life does not here concern us. It was a life which calls for the mantle of charity ; but when we read of the thirty dungeons to which Robert Browne went resolutely, one after another, and of the manifold hardships which he endured before consenting to be silent, we, in our easy freedom, can afford to be charitable ; as, when we understand the conditions of controversy in that sixteenth century, we can be charitable toward the intemperate tone of his earlier preaching and pamphlets.

In those old treatises by Robert Browne, on "Reformation without Tarrying for Any" and "The Life and Manners of all True Christians," we find set forth in full distinctness the principles which planted New England and established the English Commonwealth. Robert Browne would know nothing of any special clerical order. All true Christians, in his eyes, were brethren ; and any man might teach or preach whom the other brethren saw fit to hear. "The church planted or gathered" — this is his definition of a true church — "is a company or number of Christians or believers which by a willing covenant made with their God are under the government of God and Christ, and keep his laws in one holy communion." The simple covenant of two or three choosing to live together in purity of doctrine and innocency of life, — this, quite regardless of any institution by presbyters or

bishops, is all that is necessary to constitute a Christian church. It was the gospel of democracy in religion, proclaimed for the first time in modern history, as against all ecclesiastical monarchies and aristocracies; and this doctrine of democracy in the Church meant inevitably the doctrine of democracy in the State. "No bishop, no king," said the first Stuart king; and Stuart experience itself showed quickly enough that the saying was a sagacious and prophetic one.

Robert Browne not only taught that the simple covenant of brethren is all that is necessary to constitute a church; he also taught that, so long as people conduct themselves properly and respect the rights of others in society, the State has nothing to do with their creed. "The magistrates," he says, "have no ecclesiastical authority at all, but only as any other Christians, if so be they be Christians." "Robert Browne," says Dr. Dexter, "is entitled to the proud preëminence of having been the first writer clearly to state and defend in the English tongue the true, and now accepted, doctrine of the relation of the magistrate to the church."

The indebtedness of New England to Robert Browne and the gospel that he first preached in Norwich and St. Edmundsbury cannot be stated in too strong words. The place of his new doctrine of Independency in the development of modern freedom and democracy was cardinal. A people that had once attained the habit of forming a church by

a simple covenant would quickly come to see, as our fathers did, that municipalities and states could be formed in the same way. The New England town-meeting, the Agreement of the People, the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, and the Constitution of the United States were all implicit and potential in Robert Browne's "Reformation without Tarrying for Any" and "The Life and Manners of all True Christians."

It was in New England that this new doctrine of Independency first took firm root and, reflected back from New England, that it first exercised controlling influence upon England itself. "The New England Way" — that was what the men in Cromwell's army, anxious for godliness and a true "settlement" in Church and State, called Independency. And the great and influential New England expounders of the New England Way at this time were not men of Plymouth, but John Cotton of Boston and Thomas Hooker of Hartford. It is very interesting to remember that Harry Vane, the one famous Puritan who had a great career both in Old England and New England, the truest republican in England in that memorable time, the man who first declared that a true constitution for a commonwealth must be established in the way in which in the next century — for his demand was prophecy — the American constitution of 1787 was actually established, lived during his sojourn in Boston in closest touch with John Cotton and largely in John Cotton's house.

We cannot doubt the origin of much of his devotion to the New England Way.

In St. Botolph's Church, in old Boston, is a memorial to John Cotton, the expression of New England's love and gratitude. In Leyden, as we have noted, is a memorial to John Robinson, placed there also by New England hands. In Gainsborough, near Scrooby, is a John Robinson memorial church. Somewhere in Old England — at Norwich or St. Edmundsbury — there should be reared by the Congregationalists of England and America, Congregationalists of every creed acting together, a fitting memorial to the neglected but great author of the New England Way, the first Independent, Robert Browne.

I have spoken chiefly in these pages, in surveying the historic movement born of the doctrine of Independency which comes closest to the American heart, of Brewster and Robinson and Bradford, the leaders of the Pilgrim Fathers; but the noble company of men and women whom they led were of the same strong character. When we study their life in Scrooby, in Leyden, and in Plymouth, the three Pilgrim homes, so well and fondly known in most of our own homes that we do not need here to follow that life in detail, we find it always the life of consecration, of honor, of high endeavor, of self-sacrificing struggle, and of mutual aid, — the life in the spirit. The poets and the painters have loved the Plymouth story; and it is in Longfellow's verse and

Boughton's pictures that the people love to read it better than in the essays or the chronicles. It is a stirring drama, this Pilgrim drama in three acts. More and more, as the years go on, Americans include those little Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire villages in their English pilgrimage, to see the scene of the beginning. More and more they go to Amsterdam and Leyden and Delfthaven, and seek to picture better the conditions under which, in the tolerant Holland ever menaced by terrible war, the exiled fathers were schooled to tolerance and fortitude and the larger mind, to fitness for founding a nation. More and more they go to Plymouth, and learn better on its sacred soil the lesson without taking which to heart the democracy that there had its founding cannot endure — that the State which is based on freedom, education, morality, and law, based upon them and controlled by them, may, and then only may, face the future in secure and joyful faith.

THE QUAKER MOVEMENT IN
AMERICA

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THE QUAKER MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

IF a stranger were to visit certain parts of our country to-day, as he walked along the streets of the cities or villages he would be likely to meet some people who would at once interest him both because of their dress and because of the expression upon their peaceful faces. Very likely the men would be wearing high and broad-brimmed hats, and their coats would be "swallow-tails"; while the women would be wearing dresses plainly made and all of a subdued color, perhaps white neckerchiefs would be about their necks and shoulders, and on their heads would be plain bonnets like the old-fashioned "Shakers," though they would be of richer material than those that are to-day commonly seen in the country districts. Neither on the men nor the women would any ornaments be seen, but this would speedily be forgotten in the sweet and peaceful expression that would be apparent on almost every face. The "ornament of a meek and quiet spirit" would be more attractive, as it certainly would be more rare, than that of flashing jewels and costly gems.

Their speech or conversation would also impress

him as peculiar, for he would not hear "you," but "thee" and "thou" with the appropriate verb for each pronoun. This plainness of speech, like their simplicity of dress, would not be without its meaning, and naturally a stranger would be led to inquire who these people were and why they dressed and spoke as they did. If he carried his investigations farther, he would soon learn that not only in their talk and garb, but in other matters besides they were "peculiar," for we are prone to look upon all those who do not conform to prevailing usages as being somewhat "peculiar," are we not? They did not believe it was right to resist evil, and so they were disbelievers in all war. They firmly contended that church and state should always be distinct and separate, and that every man had the "inner light" in his heart, which, if he would but follow it, must do away with a "hireling ministry," and there would then be no priestly class. They were opposed to "worldly" amusements, and also to the use of intoxicating drinks. They were also strongly in favor of religious liberty, and though they themselves, or rather their forefathers, frequently suffered persecution, they did not inflict it upon those who differed from them in their conceptions of life and duty.

These people are commonly known as Quakers, though they themselves prefer to be known as Friends, and usually refer to themselves by that name. There are various stories as to how the title

of "Quaker" arose, some claiming that it was due to the shaking or nervous fervor of those who in their meetings felt themselves to be "moved by the spirit" to arise and address their fellows. Others believe the term had its origin in the description of the effect of the words of George Fox to Justice Bennett, in Derby, England, in 1650, which caused that worthy individual to "quake and tremble with fear." Those who prefer the latter explanation point to the fact that many of the names of various bodies, which to-day are held in high honor, were originally bestowed in derision. Its exact origin probably never will be known.

At no time in England and America have there probably been more than 200,000 of these people. In late years the body has dwindled somewhat in England, until to-day it is claimed that they do not number more than 15,000 souls. In America there may be 150,000 of them at the present time, but it is difficult to know with any exactness, for in some localities the original custom of dress and the use of "thee" and "thou" have been greatly modified; and many of the younger people, though they may still hold to the essential beliefs of their Quaker fathers, have not so closely identified themselves with the body and have discarded many of the traditional customs. Of late years the membership has decreased somewhat in the Eastern states, but corresponding gains have been made in the middle West, so that the numbers remain nearly stationary.

And then, too, the Friends have never been zealous about their census, nor have they believed that the measure of the impression they made upon life could be accurately known by the numbers of those who openly accepted their views.

In only nine states of the Union have they existed in any considerable numbers. Pennsylvania, Indiana, Ohio, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina have been their homes for the greater part. In some of these states in the colonial days they were made welcome, and their coming was looked upon as a mutual benefit, but in others they were compelled to undergo persecution and suffering. This was notably true in Massachusetts, where the whipping and banishing of Quakers was looked upon as a stern duty. Two excuses, or reasons, might be given, however, for this state of affairs. In the first place the Puritans never promised religious liberty to any, and in fact did not believe in it. They had come to establish a place where they and their children might be free to follow out their own ideas. They were not to be a city of refuge for the outcast, unless the particular outcast was of their own faith and order. In Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Maryland, promise of religious liberty was freely given to all who came to them; but the Puritans made no such promise, and, in fact, would have deemed such a promise as wrong.

Consequently they flatly and frankly told the

Quakers that they were not wanted there ; but the peaceful Friends believed that they were needed, even if they were not wanted. Accordingly, with meekness and the persistent spirit which is often the attendant of a meek and lowly mind, with true missionary zeal they sought out these very regions and there lived their lives, and taught their doctrines, and suffered persecution, until many of them were driven from the land.

Another cause for their suffering in Massachusetts was due to the fact that many fanatics, who are ever prone to follow up a new movement of any kind, called themselves by the Quaker name. Their coarse minds, indecent acts, and wild vagaries aroused a feeling of keen resentment among the stern Puritans, and their deeds were at once laid to the charge of the inoffensive Quakers, who were in no wise responsible for their unwelcome, unknown, and unbidden allies. But, true to their principles of passive non-resistance, they bore the derision, contempt, and hatred that were manifest in the whipping-posts and stocks and banishment.

It was in England that the Quaker movement began, and its founder was George Fox, who was born in Leicestershire in 1624. His father was a successful man, whose character can be estimated from the name by which he was known among his neighbors, — "righteous Christopher Fox." George Fox, the son, was a man of marked ability and of sterling character. He was only a young man when

he began to preach and teach the principles which have already been referred to as the basis of the Quaker creed and life. His great form, clear and expressive eyes, and, above all, his sterling sincerity, at once began to make a strong impression upon the people, who were at the time ripe for a revolt against the luxurious display and frivolity of the royalists. Indeed, it is a marked fact that in almost any age or place the herald of plain living and high thinking, the apostle of simplicity in life, is reasonably certain of a hearing; but especially was this true in England in the middle of the seventeenth century. Indifference, ridicule, and even persecution, instead of checking, helped to spread the message of George Fox, though once more it was true that many misguided and fanatical people allied themselves with the Friends, and their wild actions brought reproach upon the work which was being done.

Still George Fox, dignified and earnest, toiled on, his life as well as his works being a perpetual protest against the spirit of the courtiers of the time. The opposition to amusements arose because of the license and grossness of the playhouse and the court. The plainness in dress was a protest against extravagance and display. The use of "thee" and "thou" in conversation was not primarily due to the Bible terms, but because they were supposed to be expressive of the esteem and value in which every man was to be held in the community of Friends. This usage was sharply resented by outsiders, chiefly

because "thee" and "thou" were reserved for use in addressing the Deity and in the familiar intercourse of most intimate friends. Fiske declares that to address a man as "thee" or "thou," at the time, would be like the undue familiarity of addressing a high official or a stranger now by his first name. All these things, however, were only on the surface of the new movement, and the earnestness and strong appeals of George Fox soon found such a response that the accessions to the Friends became not only numerous, but steadily increasing, though their troubles and trials also increased with their growing order.

As far as the Quaker movement in America is concerned, however, it is the name of William Penn, more than that of the great founder of the sect, that more closely concerns us. His early surroundings certainly could hardly have been said to be conducive to the development of the simplicity of the Quaker belief or life. His father was Sir William Penn, an admiral in the British navy, and a warm personal friend of King Charles II, and his mother was a Dutch lady of rare refinement and great wealth. Select schools and the best of private tutors had charge of young Penn's early training, and when he was sixteen years of age he entered Christ Church College, Oxford, and the tradition is that he there excelled in three distinct lines: he was a marvellous oarsman, as fleet-footed as a young Achilles, and a leader in the study of Greek. Tall, athletic, hand-

some, his earnestness and sincerity made him friends on every side, but he was not destined to remain long in Oxford. At the end of two years he had embraced the teachings of George Fox, and as he refused to doff his hat to the dons or to attend college prayers, he was either sent away by the authorities or withdrawn from Oxford by his father, no one knows which. At all events his Oxford days were abruptly ended.

His sympathy with the views of Fox met with no favor from his worthy father, but Sir William found a marked difference between the quarter-deck and his own home; for however quickly he might be obeyed on the former, he was unable to change his son's opinions in the latter. So the young man was sent to study in France and to travel on the continent for a time, and doubtless the admiral had strong hopes that his son would return more reasonable, and without some of his strange and well-nigh unaccountable ideas.

But young Penn, more handsome, more cultivated, more attractive when he came back to England, was still more intense in his conviction that George Fox was right; and the worthy admiral, in fighting for the right as he saw the right, soon became so angry that he drove his own son from his home. It is a pleasure to record, however, that he became reconciled to him before he died in 1670, and that he gave his boy the bulk of his fortune.

Still strong in his convictions, and possessed now

of ample means, William Penn began to give himself more completely to the task of spreading his teachings. It is evident that he never became an extremist in the minor matters of dress or detail, for he lived handsomely in his beautiful home, and his garb was not markedly different from that of many of the gentlemen of his own times. It was the essential and not the accidental that appealed to him most strongly. He now began to use his pen as well as his voice, and the titles of some of his works may be of interest. "Truth Exalted," "The Guide Mistaken," "The Sandy Foundation Shaken," and "Innocency with her Open Face," were some of them. For these and for some of his speeches he soon found himself in trouble; but even in court, where he made his own defence, he was more than a match for his enemies.

On the continent, particularly in Holland, where he made a tour, he gained many adherents; but a new scheme soon absorbed his attention and to its fulfilment he devoted himself early and late. The interest in America in the English court at this time was keen and steadily becoming keener. There were quarrels and claims and counter-claims as to proprietary rights in the land across the sea, and so aroused did the people become that Penn also began to prepare for what he called his "holy experiment."

Among other possessions which Penn had received from his father was a debt of £16,000 from the crown, and now he began to urge that his claim

should be adjusted by a grant of land in America. Thither he would send many of his persecuted brethren; there, amidst the quiet of the forests and far from the distractions of the court life, his ideas and ideals could be carried out, and he himself would be active (perhaps also have a home there) in the affairs of the New World.

Penn's petition was granted, though not without quibbling and opposition from some of the privy council; but at last he received a charter to land on the east of the Delaware River and extending throughout five degrees of longitude. His first thought was to name the province New Wales, but as the king would not agree, he changed it to Sylvania. It was again the king who overruled the Quaker's objection and insisted that the title should be Pennsylvania; and then, as Penn still objected, he laughingly explained that the country was not named for him at all, but for his worthy father, the admiral. His charter, though it granted Penn large rights, nevertheless required that the acts of the men in control of the colony must receive the approval of the king. An agent of the king was to be appointed and freedom for others than Quakers was to be given; but beyond that, Penn was virtually free to follow his own devices. This charter was granted March 4, 1681, and the consent of the Duke of York, who owned lands on the north of Pennsylvania, and of Lord Baltimore, who held possessions on the south, was obtained to its provisions.

At once William Penn made provision in his policy for the principles which were dear to his Quaker heart to be carried out. Absolute freedom of conscience was to be granted to all, there was to be ample liberty in the life of the individual, and one of his most marked declarations was that the penalty of death should be exacted only for the crimes of murder and of high treason. This last point was in sharp contrast with the customs of some of the other colonies, some of which had decreed death as the penalty for the commission of any one of fifteen different crimes.

As has been said, the Quakers were opposed to war, but there can be little doubt that the principles enacted by Penn had much to do in bringing to pass the revolt of the people later against what they believed to be the unjust and tyrannical laws of the British rulers. They here gained a conception that the nation was composed of the people, and that the people, therefore, were the ones to determine the laws to which they would consent and by which they were to be governed. Penn's inducement for settlers to come and share in his "holy experiment" was also most generous, for he offered a grant of a hundred acres to any one for the sum of forty shillings.

Nearly three thousand people are said to have come to Pennsylvania within a year from the time when the "experiment" began. Many of these were prisoners in the English jails for conscience'

sake, and were set free on the condition that they would depart from England. Others were men who were eager to share in the prospects and even in the perils of the venture; but nearly all were godly and peace-loving men who were glad to escape from the troublous times in England, and find and form a place where they might be free to follow the dictates of their own consciences.

It was not until late in the summer of 1682 that Penn himself came to his new possessions, the work up to this time having been placed in the charge of his cousin, William Markham. The welcome he received was almost as warm from the Swedish and the Dutch settlers as it was from his own immediate followers. His first visit was to Upland, or Chester, so named from the ancient English town from which some of the people had come, and then he visited New York and Maryland, and upon his return at once laid out the plans for a city where the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers join their waters. The streets were named from the trees that were then growing in the forest, and the names of Chestnut, Spruce, Walnut, etc., remain to this day. When but a little more than a year had elapsed, the new city of brotherly love, "Philadelphia," contained three hundred and fifty-seven dwellings, and the growth of the entire colony was almost equally fabulous.

It was in November, 1682, at Shackamaxon, that Penn is said to have made his now famous treaty with the Delaware Indians. Under the spreading

trees the white men and the red assembled, and it was soon evident that Penn's kindly and gracious ways had strongly impressed the Indians. So pleased were they, it is said, that they speedily began to manifest their delight in the childish manner of leaping, shouting, and running; and the impression was deepened when the staid Quaker, perhaps recalling his own athletic days at Oxford, soon showed that he could outleap and outrun them all.

It was eminently a treaty of peace, and for seventy years the Friends in and near Philadelphia did not suffer in the least from the attacks of their friends, the Indians. Surely this is no small tribute to Penn and to his principles. He also insisted upon paying the Indians for the lands that were taken, and this, too, was in marked contrast with certain other colonies, for though some of them it is true did "pay" the red-men, they drove such sharp "bargains" that perhaps less would have been suffered if the form of transfer had been disregarded.

So the new colony, "the holy experiment," was planted, and so it rapidly developed. Penn himself could not remain, being compelled to return to England, but he revisited his possessions and had the deep pleasure of knowing that not only was a peaceful home provided for his people, but also that their principles were more likely to be more clearly understood by those who up to this time had woefully failed to see them and bitterly opposed them.

And prosperity came to the Friends. It was

true that some complained that though they were scrupulously honest and exact in their dealings, still they were "hard," and inclined to be petty in demanding the uttermost farthing that was due them. In a measure this, perhaps, was true, though if the early Quakers were hard in demanding the last penny that was due, they were just as "hard" in insisting upon paying the utmost that was due from themselves. In all the years that have followed, poverty among the Quakers has been almost unknown. Not so much great wealth as uniform prosperity has attended their quiet lives, and if a tree is to be known by its fruits, then the quality of the Quakers' success is not difficult to ascertain.

In later years, when the united colonies were contending for their liberties, the Quakers were sharply criticised for not entering more fully into the struggle. Two reasons may be given for this failure: one was the conviction of the Quakers that war was wicked, and the other the natural dislike of a prosperous people for any change that would be likely to disturb them in their possessions. And it must be acknowledged that most of the Quakers, though they were passive, belonged to the Tory party.

They were strong and eager in their protests against the unjust taxation by the mother country, and young Thomas Mifflin, a Quaker, was one of the most ardent of the members of the Continental Congress in urging his countrymen to resort to arms

in the defence of their liberties; but when the issue of battle was drawn, their councils, though somewhat divided, were against the shedding of blood, even in the protection of their rights. Nathaniel Greene, the soldier next to Washington himself in the War of Independence, was a Quaker in his early days, but he was no longer of the "meeting" when he took up arms for his country.

The feeling against the Friends was doubtless embittered somewhat by the fact that when Howe had possession of Philadelphia, two Quakers named John Roberts and Abraham Carlisle were put to death by the angry patriots, because, though they would not bear arms, they still had acted as guides for the British in what the Americans termed the "massacre" of their countrymen. But, as a body, the Quakers had but little part in the struggle for independence, and their sympathies were largely with the Tories. When the new nation was formed, however, they soon became devoted citizens, and no more sturdy, reliable, successful, and respected people have entered into the structure of the American nation. Never aggressive, always strong and trusty, they have never contributed to the population of our jails or our almshouses, never engaged in riots or rebellion, never been found among the complainers or fault-finders. They certainly have attained that high knowledge and rare condition of being able to mind their own business successfully.

But though they have been a quiet and unobtrusive people, their influence has been by no means all negative, for they have contributed much to the life of the nation, and a brief summary of the Quaker movement in America may serve to help us appreciate what they have given.

I. Their quiet and peaceful lives have been eloquent of inner peace when many of the people have been restless and discontented. Not so much what they have *done* as what they have *been* is their first great gift.

II. They were pioneers in teaching the doctrine of the separation of Church and State. This is now a commonly accepted American principle, but it was not so in the early days. That it is so to-day is in no slight degree due to the gentle and yet persistent teaching of the Friends.

III. They were among the first to stand for liberty of conscience. The declarations of Pennsylvania and Maryland, with Rhode Island a close, but in one particular a tardy, third, are now the commonly accepted belief and law of the land.

IV. They were early in the field as opposed to slavery. It is true that even in the early days of Pennsylvania negroes were held as slaves, but the conscience of the Quaker assembly was early aroused on the subject. There was a memorial adopted in 1688, which is still in existence, wherein the Friends of Germantown protested against "the buying and keeping of negroes." For some time previous to

the breaking out of the Revolution, the Quakers in Pennsylvania had ceased to buy slaves ; and in 1776, by the action of the assembly, all Quakers who refused to set free the slaves they owned were to be excluded from meeting.

V. In educational matters their contributions to the national life have been good, but one could hardly term them great. In the earlier days, owing in part doubtless to some of their peculiar beliefs, there was not the enthusiasm amongst them for planting schools and colleges that was to be found in some of the other people. Nevertheless in New England, in and about Philadelphia, in Indiana, and in various other parts of the land they have founded schools and colleges that are among our oldest institutions, and from which have steadily come elements of culture and intellectual training into the life of the nation.

VI. In their contribution of prominent men the Quakers have not been specially marked. Theirs has been the possession of a high average life among their people, rather than the development of exceptional and specifically brilliant men. Naturally they would have no great generals or soldiers ; their very creed forbade that. Few great statesmen have been Quakers, for the ambitions of politics have never appealed strongly to them. Not many great orators were theirs, and in literary work the poet Whittier seems almost to be in a class by himself—a first to whom there is no second. Fame, or at least

notoriety, never has found an abiding place among the Friends. Not in the gift of brilliant leaders, but in the orderly, diligent, exact (perhaps shrewd as well), and peaceable lives of their people, they have oftentimes unconsciously taught the value and the relations of plain living and high thinking.

VII. In their opposition to war they have had many followers. Without doubt much of the present sentiment of the American nation in favor of peace is to be traced to the indirect influence of the Friends.

Not by sword, not greatly by pen, not by great orators, statesmen, or soldiers have they contributed to the nation's life, so much as by the indirect impression which their peaceful ways have made upon all who have come in contact with them. They have taught more by example than by precept, and whether one agrees or disagrees with their distinctive tenets, he knows that our lives are better and richer to-day because of what the Quakers have been and have done in America.

THE COLONISTS AND THE INDIANS

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THE COLONISTS AND THE INDIANS

THE spread throughout the earth of what we call Civilization has always in its first steps meant the suppression of weak races by the strong; the manner of its progress has been akin to that of the car of Juggernaut. Whether or not our ancestors had the moral right to settle upon a continent already occupied by another race of men, and to drive them out at the point of the sword and the musket, is a nice question which, however, it is now idle for us to discuss.

The North American Indian, never a lovable creature either physically or morally, has practically disappeared from all places desired by the white man, and no one would now wish to have him restored. But in briefly reviewing the relations of the colonists to the tribesmen, let not our satisfaction at the result blind our eyes to the fact that the case of the savages merits at this distant day a more charitable view than could be held by men and women who lived nearer to the time of the events.

While all of the Indians from Hudson Bay to Patagonia were of one race, they greatly differed from each other. In Mexico and Peru they were semi-civilized, understood something of astronomy,

and built roads, fortifications, and large temples of stone. Closely allied to them were the Pueblos and Cliff Dwellers of our Southwest, who lived in dwellings of stone or sun-dried brick, had domestic animals, made crude cloth and pottery, and cultivated large tracts of irrigated land. Not far behind them were some of the tribes inhabiting the lower Mississippi Valley, such as the Natchez and perhaps some of the other tribes of our Southern states. Much behind these people, on the path to civilization, were the ordinary Red Indians of North America, with whom our forebears chiefly had dealings.

Among the Red Indians were many strongly marked types. Those in the Southern states were uppermost in advancement. There were about fifty thousand of them. Of a somewhat mild disposition, nevertheless the Creeks and Cherokee in particular proved good fighters when American aggressions roused them to action. The natives of the South cultivated orchards in a rude manner, and had some domestic animals; when the whites came as neighbors, they adopted from them many mechanic and rural arts, so that by the time of the Revolution they were not far behind the small white farmers in industrial or domestic methods; indeed were quite equal in mental capacity to many of the rude peasants now migrating to our country from eastern Europe.

The Algonquians were the most numerous (from

fifty thousand to ninety thousand souls), holding the greater part of the country from Kentucky northward to Hudson Bay, and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. Among them were the tribes met by the Jamestown and Plymouth settlers, and indeed most of those bands which figure prominently in the history of the Indian wars in colonial times. They were rude in life and manners, intensely warlike, depended for subsistence chiefly on hunting and fishing, lived in wigwams covered with bark, skin, or matted reeds, practised agriculture in a crude fashion, and were more inclined to wander than the Southern Indians. Through their lands came the heaviest movement of the white population, hence they are historically the most familiar to us.

In the heart of the Algonquian land was planted the group of federated tribes called the Iroquois; they were stationed to the number of perhaps seventeen thousand within villages surrounded by log walls, south and east of lakes Erie and Ontario. The craftiest, most daring, and most intelligent of Red Indians, yet still in the savage hunter stage, the Iroquois were the terror of every other native band east of the Mississippi. Bitterly hating the French of Canada, because early attacked by Governor Champlain, they were in consequence friends of the English; which fact proved of great benefit to our American colonists.

The Dakota (or Sioux) family occupied for the most part the country beyond the Mississippi, and did

not enter our history until after we became a nation. There were also other related groups or families on the plains east of the Rockies, and several distinct peoples on the Pacific Coast and in the British Northwest; but with these our present story has no concern.

The Atlantic Slope, north of Georgia, is comparatively narrow. In the Carolinas, the mountains are often two hundred and fifty miles back from the sea; but in New England, fifty to eighty miles is the width of the belt of lowlands that can readily be cultivated. The Indian population of the slope was heaviest upon the coast, for these people had a superstitious reverence for the seaside, and fish food abounded there. Back from the waterfalls, where the rough country began — the “fall line,” as the settlers called it — there were great tracts of country quite uninhabited; and even in the occupied territory in the heart of the inland forests, the villages were small and far apart. Beyond the Alleghanies were great hordes of fierce savages, but they seldom crossed the mountain barrier, and then only in small war parties. Thus the early colonists had at first but a narrow line of savages to contend with, and could overcome them with an ease unknown to their descendants, who, on climbing the rocky wall, found further progress westward sharply contested by tribesmen who were egged on by the jealous French.

To understand the relations between the English colonists and the Indians, we must have at least some

knowledge of Indian character and customs. This will enable us to be better judges of the situation than, many times, were our ancestors themselves ; for they were slow to comprehend Indian life, manners, and motives, and even in later years their judgment of them was faulty. It is not until our own day that savages have been carefully studied by men of science.

First of all, the Indian was a hunter and a fisherman. As such, his life was a constant struggle for existence. Enemies had to be driven from the tribe's hunting-grounds, but the game-preserves of other tribes were invaded when possible, and this led to frequent bloody quarrels. War, however, was welcomed as an occasion which enabled the young man to obtain the scalp of an enemy, the possession of which alone gave him the right to wear the eagle feathers of a brave ; it was also a tribal necessity in the competition for food. The encroachment of the white settlers on their hunting-grounds very naturally was met by an attempt on the part of the natives to eject them. The colonists, however, were firmly of the opinion that the world was made for white men, and keenly resented having their occupancy contested. Nearly all our histories of the Indian wars have been written from this point of view.

Each Indian village was a little democracy, wherein one warrior held himself as good as another, save for the respect due to the headmen

of the several family groups, or to those who were honored for wisdom or oratory. The position of peace-chief was hereditary, but his authority was slight unless he were otherwise great or prominent. In war, the fighting men ranged themselves under some popular leader, who often was not a chief. Much of what appears in the writings of Captain John Smith, the Pilgrim chroniclers, and other early writers, about the power and authority of "nobles," "kings," and "emperors" among the red-men was purely fanciful; the authors having judged Indian institutions by Old World standards. We now know that such high-sounding titles as "Emperor" Powhatan, "Princess" Pocahontas, and "King" Philip were based on lack of knowledge of Indian customs.

The pure democracy of the tribesmen, combined with their lack of self-control and of persistency, and the jealousies existing between leaders and between tribes, made them weak in the face of an organized foe. To a large extent, this is the reason that a small band of determined whites was often able to rout a large force of Indians. We shall soon read of several formidable Indian conspiracies for driving the invaders into the sea. They were the work of native men of genius who possessed great ability as organizers, but whose followers were not equal to their skill; therefore these uprisings were short-lived.

The Indian as a fighter was to be dreaded chiefly

because an adept in strategy, and because able secretly to thread the green aisles of the forest as easily as he would cross an open plain. Having made his unexpected sally for robbery or murder, he would glide back into the dark woods and disappear as mysteriously as he came. The colonists were obliged to adopt his skulking methods of warfare before they could successfully defeat him.

The English colonists met the Red Indian in a threefold capacity — not only as a foe opposed to their encroachments upon his hunting-grounds, but as a neighbor, and as a customer and trader. At first, both in Virginia and in Massachusetts, the aborigines thought the whites to be superior beings come down from the clouds, and bestowed upon them hospitality, confidence, and veneration. But it early became evident that Englishmen were a very ordinary sort of mortals. When the English kidnapped tribesmen to sell them into slavery or to be used as captive guides, and even killed the natives for slight reasons, awe was soon succeeded by distrust and hatred.

The Indian was uncouth and brutal; he was at best not welcomed as a companion by men of the English race (although the easy-going French often dwelt with him in friendly social relations, and even married native women); he was exceptionally cruel, his mode of warfare was skulking, he could not easily be got at in the forest depths which he alone knew well, and his strokes fell heaviest on unguarded

women and children. The standards of savage honor radically differ from those of civilized men: the Indian had small regard for the helpless, was vindictive, he relied largely on deceitful methods; so long as he won, he had small scruples as to the means employed. Whites upon the border came thus to fear and loathe the savage, and the lawless and brutal among them often added to the bitterness of the struggle by paying him back in heaping measure of his own coin.

The fur trade was to the colonists both a blessing and a curse. The love of trade being strong among the Indians, their desire to obtain white men's goods caused them to in some measure overcome or conceal their natural hatred to the invaders. The equally keen desire to trade with the Indians was, on the part of the whites, a powerful incentive to colonization. Thus the two races were continually in contact along the border. Unfortunately many of the white traders, who travelled wide and far through the woods visiting the tribes, exchanging blankets, tools, weapons, and ornaments for furs, were the worst possible specimens of their race. They often cheated and robbed the Indian, taught him the use of intoxicating liquors, bullied and not seldom beat him, and in general sowed vice in the native camps. The frontier wars largely grew out of this sad condition of affairs. The majority of the whites doubtless intended to treat the Indian honorably; but the forest traders were beyond the reach

of law, and news of their doings seldom reached the older settlements.

As a neighbor, the Indian was difficult to deal with, whether in the negotiation of treaties of peace or in the purchase of lands. Having but a loose system of government, there was no really responsible head, and no agreement was secure from the interference of the hot-bloods who would not be bound by treaties made by the chiefs. The English felt that the red-men were not putting the land to its full use, that much of the territory was growing up as a waste, that they were best entitled to it who could make it the most productive. On the other hand, the earlier cessions of land were made under a total misconception: the Indians supposed that the newcomers would, after a few years of occupancy, pass on and leave the tract again to the natives. There was no compromise possible between races with precisely opposite views of property in land. The struggle was inevitable — civilization against savagery. No sentimental notions could prevent it. It was in the nature of things that the weaker must give way. For a long time it was not certain that a combined effort might not drive the whites into the sea and undo the work of colonization; but in the end the savage went to the wall.

We should not unduly blame the Indian for the aggressive part which he played in these border wars. In defending his country from invasion he was clearly within his rights — we ought, indeed, to

think the better of him for the skill and bravery which he brought to bear in the defence of his native land. As to his methods, the amenities of modern civilized warfare could not be expected from a mere savage. And let us not forget that after learning his methods of fighting, our ancestors often proved themselves capable of outdoing him in savagery.

Taking a general view of the growth of the American nation, it is now easy to see that it was fortunate that Englishmen met in the Indian so formidable an antagonist; such fierce and untamed savages could never be held long as slaves; and thus were the American colonists of the North—the bone and sinew of the nation—saved from the temptations and the moral danger which come from contact with a numerous servile race. Again, every step of progress into the wilderness being stubbornly contested, the spirit of hardihood and bravery—so essential an element in nation-building—was fostered among the borderers; and as settlement moved westward slowly, only so fast as the pressure of population on the seaboard impelled it, the Americans were prevented from planting scattered colonies in the interior, and thus were able to present a solid front to the mother country when, in due course of time, fostering care changed to a spirit of commercial control, and commercial control to jealous interference and menace.

It is impracticable in this short sketch to dwell

upon the details of the struggle. We can but hastily sketch its outlines.

Sir Walter Raleigh's prospectors, who landed in 1584 on the island of Roanoke, off North Carolina, found there Southern Indians, who were of a mild, hospitable disposition — "people most gentle, loving, and faithful," says the old chronicle. When, the following year, Sir Richard Grenville and Ralph Lane made a settlement there for Raleigh, the natives, who had warmly welcomed them, were treated harshly, and soon came to hate the newcomers. The first Roanoke colony proving a failure, was replaced by a second, which in a few years fell a prey to the savages.

For several years there was no further attempt by the English to make settlements in North America. But in the interval the coast Indians did not altogether lose sight of the Elizabethans, for there were now numerous voyages of exploration along the coast, between Maine and the Carolinas, and some of the captains kidnapped Indians, carrying them to England to serve both as curiosities and as guides to future expeditions.

The Jamestown settlers, who arrived in Virginia in 1607, found that they were occupying a country owned by the more warlike Algonquians, who at first were not disposed to submit to this invasion. But they were overawed by sight of the log forts and the determined manner of the well-armed English; and, with remarkable self-control, for a long

period affected a friendship which, with most of the tribesmen, could not have been deep-seated. The whites were fortunate in having for the first two years a leader in the person of John Smith, who was firm as well as tactful, and strongly impressed both colonists and Indians. A less skilful man might readily have failed in those early days, when the settlers were torn by dissension and found it difficult to gain a livelihood from the soil. The principal chief of the district, Powhatan, and his daughter, Pocahontas, were, each in their way, of much service to the whites, not only in inducing their people to preserve peace, but in helping them to provisions in times of scarcity.

Powhatan's successor, Opechancanough, was of not so complaisant a nature. Succeeding to the chieftaincy in 1618, he at once began to make secret plans for a general massacre of the English, who, after Smith's departure, had not been careful to treat the Indians with kindness. At the end of four years of careful preparation, in which he had won the support of neighboring chiefs and warriors, he led an uprising which resulted in the slaughter of three hundred settlers, a very severe loss to the colony. Opechancanough was himself killed, and, there being no other native strong enough to continue the leadership, the conspiracy was quickly put down.

During many succeeding years the ever-increasing Virginians peacefully converted into farms and vil-

lages the hunting-grounds of the Algonquians, who by this process were slowly but steadily pushed back from their beloved seashore. To be sure, there were sundry treaties, at which the whites went through the form of purchasing the land by exchanging for it heaps of goods of European manufacture; but we have seen that the Indians had often only a vague notion of what such land sales really meant—and, in any event, the amount received by them was far too small a compensation. These treaties have almost always, in the history of our country, been one-sided bargains, in which the weak and ignorant savages were either outwitted or overawed by the whites.

It would have fared ill with the Plymouth settlers (1620) had it not been that a few years previous the New England coast tribes were greatly weakened by a pestilence prevailing among them. Met upon first landing by an attack from the local Wampanoag, which was punished by a bloody reprisal that would have been injudicious in the case of a strong tribe, the Pilgrims were further unmolested for fifty years. It must be said to the credit of both the Pilgrims and the Boston settlers that they treated the Indians kindly, paid them honestly for their furs and corn, healed many of their sick, made them small payments for their land, and sought to educate and convert them. But it is doubtful if they ever succeeded in actually making Christians out of any of them; the so-called “converted”

natives probably coming no nearer to it than determining that the English God was more powerful than any of their manitous. Until the time of King Philip's War it may fairly be said that the Indians of Massachusetts had probably been improved by contact with the whites—a condition existing in few other regions in the United States.

While the Wampanoag and Massachusetts were friendly, the other New England tribes were not disposed to accept the English without question. They were the war-loving Narragansett, living on the bay of that name; the Nyantic, near Point Judith; the Pequot, of Thames Valley, most powerful of all; the brave Mohegan, just west of the Pequots; the Nipmuck, north of the Mohegan; and the Tarratine, of Maine.

With the growth of settlement in New England, new colonies were sent out into the dense forest to the west and south of Massachusetts Bay—few of them, however, farther than a day's march from some older town. When erecting log-houses in the little clearings and breaking land for crops, the daring frontiersmen found a reception from the native occupants quite different from their earlier experiences.

In 1636 the Pequots first rose against the whites and killed several fur traders near Hartford and on Long Island Sound. But in May, 1637, they were surrounded in a palisaded village near the present Stonington, Connecticut, and seven hundred of

them mercilessly slaughtered by Massachusetts and Connecticut militiamen, aided by Indians of other tribes who wished to be in the favor of the whites. Upon this bloody day the great Pequot nation passed into history.

Cowed by this appalling spectacle of white men's vengeance, the tribesmen allowed peace to prevail in New England for thirty-eight years. During that long period, the colonists had opportunity so to strengthen their hold upon the land that, while further Indian disturbances might seriously harass them, they could not possibly be driven out. But while showing that they could hold their own, the men of Massachusetts continued to be as far as possible just to the Indians.

In 1675-1678 occurred what we call King Philip's War, the most doleful experience in the history of New England. Philip, chief of the Wampanoag, conspired with Canonchet, the Narragansett chief, to destroy the invaders root and branch. Many of the Indians were now skilled in the use of muskets, obtained through the fur trade, and consequently were far more dangerous foes than Opechancanough or the Pequot. At the same time the Tarratine were sorely harassing the settlers in Maine, where nearly every village between the Piscataqua and the Kennebec suffered from fire and the tomahawk. In Massachusetts over a score of villages were sacked and burned; many persons were killed, and others carried off into wretched captivity — some of

the prisoners being adopted into the tribes to replace lost members of families, others being ransomed, but the majority suffering slow death by torture.

When at last New England breathed free, it was computed that almost a thousand Englishmen — over ten per cent of the whole — had fallen victims to Philip's uprising, in addition to probably over a hundred women and children either killed or made captives; while the debt incurred by this terrible war sorely pressed the colonies for many years. It meant, however, the almost complete extermination of the Indians, so far as the central and southern settlements were concerned, and the adoption of a harsh policy toward the survivors. Thereafter New England only knew of the savage along the northern border, where he coöperated with the French in seeking to repress the steady English advance toward Canada.

Commencing with King William's (or Frontenac's) War, in 1690, settlers along the English frontier line in northern New York, New Hampshire, and Maine suffered severely from bands of Indians who were furiously egged on by the French. Queen Anne's War (1702-1713) was of a similar character, the English endeavoring to prevent the French from obtaining too firm a foothold in America, and becoming greatly embittered because the latter incited the savages to forays on settlers for scalps and plunder. Throughout King George's War (1744-1748) the same scenes were enacted.

But the sad experiences of the colonists along the northern border were mild compared with those of the settlers who were pushing westward over the ranges of the Alleghanies from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas. The New Englanders were not in those days colonizing beyond their own borders. The aggressive movement toward the West came chiefly from the South — largely of Scotch-Irish — first drifting southwestward through the troughs of the hills and then crossing over from the Potomac to the Ohio, and descending that river in canoes or flatboats or travelling by pack trains over the mountains through Cumberland Gap.

We have seen that the Indians west of the mountains were far fiercer and more numerous than those on the Atlantic Slope. The French, who had many forts in the West, wanted to keep the English from profiting by the fur trade on which they thrived, and throughout a half of the eighteenth century urged their Indian friends to an almost constant warfare, and even joined and led them in their forays. The fight at Fort Necessity, Braddock's Defeat, Pontiac's Conspiracy, Lord Dunmore's War, were notable features of the long and bitter fight in which both sides lost heavily. George Washington, George Rogers Clark, and Daniel Boone were typical heroes of that strenuous life led by the backwoodsmen who fought their way over the mountains into the valley of the Ohio and the rich hunting-grounds of Kentucky — "the dark and bloody ground" of our buckskin-clad

forefathers. To the south of the Alleghanies there was an almost level path to the West, but it was used far less than the northern routes, partly because of the richer fur trade of the Northwest, but also because of the fierce Cherokees and Chactaws who held the southern roads.

Upon the downfall of New France, in 1763, England held control of the continent westward to the Mississippi and northwestward to Alaska. But the Revolution soon broke out, and her officers in Canada at once adopted the policy for which they had severely criticised the French: keeping in close touch with the ferocious savage hordes of the interior, and unscrupulously pitting them against the advancing line of American settlers who were struggling to occupy the rich lands of the middle West. The history of the American frontier west of the Alleghanies abounds with lurid scenes of burning, slaughtering, and — worse than either — captivities which for the most part ended at the stake.

In due time the Republic was born. But the English, on flimsy pretext, long held the posts on the upper Great Lakes and continued their encouragement of Indian hostilities, because still hoping for a reconquest of the Northwest. It was not until after the war of 1812-1815, and the attendant Tecumseh uprising, that the middle West in its turn was freed from the irrepressible struggle, civilization being at last dominant over savagery.

From the lands beyond the Mississippi, the tribes-

men, valiant although foreseeing the end, withdrew only after every step had been bitterly contested; but that is too long a story for this chapter.

The Indian, once proud owner of the continent, is now but our reservation pauper. The recitation of our dealings with him, from the beginning even unto this day, does not make pleasant reading. We taught him our own vices, and in treating with him either on the war-path or at the council fire often outdid him in his own viciousness. Taking frail human nature as it is, white and red, and the conditions under which it has all occurred, perhaps the mastery of civilization in our land could not have otherwise been won. We can, however, now afford in our historical retrospect to be just to the Indian, and at least agree that he was a patriot passionately fond of the land of his fathers; and to the measure of his savage intellect, and in the rude manner of his people, laid down his life to repel an invader whose harshness is crystallized in the familiar aphorism of the border, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian."

THE BATTLE OF QUEBEC AND
WHAT IT MEANT

BY GEORGE HODGES, D.D.

DEAN OF EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

THE BATTLE OF QUEBEC AND WHAT IT MEANT

IT is significant that the decisive war between the English and the French for the possession of this continent began and ended beside a river. It began at Fort Necessity, near the present site of Pittsburgh, where the Allegheny and the Monongahela meet to form the Ohio. The place commanded the Ohio, and the mastery of the Ohio was a part of the mastery of the Mississippi. It ended at Quebec, which dominates the St. Lawrence. These rivers were French highways. They belonged to France by the right of discovery, and they served the essential purpose of French colonization. That purpose was trade. The French colonist was a commercial agent, doing business for the home market. A river was his smooth road. Since a great part of his traffic was in furs, he dealt with the Indians, who were expert in procuring them. For the furtherance of these transactions he depended partly on the soldier and partly on the priest. The three journeyed in the same canoe,—the trader, the soldier, and the priest. Every settlement was a garrison, which always had within its palisade a market and a church. Commonly, the

trader and the priest persuaded the Indian and made friends with him. They had a gift for such social understanding which the English never possessed. They honestly liked Indians. It is to be set down to the everlasting credit of the French priests that for the most part they gave themselves to their Christian mission with unsparing and enthusiastic self-sacrifice. They were intent on saving souls. Therefore the soldiers were chiefly needed to defend the trader, not against his savage customers, but against his civilized competitors. The Indians were his allies. The war whose last battle we are to consider was properly called the French and Indian War.

The English, on the other hand, had settled along the coast, and had established themselves in villages and on farms. They were colonists who had come to stay. Bringing with them the ideas and habits of their mother country, they devoted their energies to the tilling of the soil, to the details of their local government, to such trade as was suggested by their own needs and by the demands of a conservative English market, and to the living of their own lives in the fear of God. The ships which returned to England carried lumber and salted fish, and the lumber had been felled and sawed and the fish caught and salted by the hands of the colonists themselves. While the French colonist was a middleman, buying from the Indian to sell again to the European, the English colonist was dealing

in the produce of his own industry. The Frenchman, for good and for ill, had the natural characteristics of a commercial traveller; the Englishman, for good and for ill, had the natural characteristics of a farmer. To this social difference were added other differences, temperamental, religious, and political. The Frenchman was a Latin; he represented the ancient empire of Rome. The Englishman was a Saxon; he represented the ancient armies of barbarians who fought against Rome and overcame it. The Frenchman was a Catholic, the Englishman was a Protestant. That this was more than a superficial disagreement is seen in the fact that the Reformation followed in the main the lines of race; it appealed to the Saxon and his kinsfolk, but it got no hearing among the descendants of the Latins. The Frenchman held that power ought to be concentrated; it belonged in the hands of the king. The Englishman held that power ought to be distributed; it belonged in the hands of the people.

Thus at Quebec the English and the French confronted one another not only as two armies, but as two altogether different groups of ideas. It is in such a fact that the deepest significance of a battle is to be found. The importance of the fight is in no way determined by the number of men who are engaged in it. Egypt and Assyria in their old campaigns brought vast multitudes into the field, but the historian is not greatly interested in the strife,

and the ordinary reader cannot, without the book, recite the name of any of their battles, because the contention was simply for physical conquest. Neither side stood for an idea. But the battle of Beth-horon is counted among the decisive victories, for though the contestants on either side were but a beggarly array of fighting men, the issue was the conquest of Palestine by the Israelites; that is, it was the victory of an idea. So with Thermopylæ and Marathon, upon which depended the destiny of Europe. On one side of the pass were the Persians, on the other were the Greeks. It is impossible to exaggerate the differences which divided them, — social, political, religious, intellectual, temperamental. Such another battle was fought at Quebec. The differences were not so great as they were at Beth-horon and at Thermopylæ, — both of the contesting nations being civilized and Christian, — but they were great enough, as we have seen, to determine the destinies of this continent. Shall America be French or English, Latin or Saxon, Catholic or Protestant, a monarchy or a republic? These were the questions which Montcalm and Wolfe debated on the Plains of Abraham.

The war between France and England for the possession of the New World had now been going on for several years. Each side had had experience of victory and of defeat. The war had begun, after the skirmish at Fort Necessity, with the disastrous overthrow of Braddock at Fort Duquesne. That

was in 1755. Later in that year Sir William Johnson defeated the French at Lake George and built Fort William Henry at the southern end of the lake; the French, meanwhile, establishing themselves at Fort Ticonderoga at the northern end. In 1756 Montcalm took Oswego; in 1757 he gained Fort William Henry; in 1758 he repulsed an English army before the walls of Fort Ticonderoga. Then the tide of battle turned. In 1759 the English captured Ticonderoga, and besieged Montcalm in his fortress of Quebec.

The fortress was a natural stronghold. It was built on a bold headland, having on one side the broad St. Lawrence and on the other the narrow St. Charles. On the St. Lawrence side were steep cliffs, which appeared to make ascent impossible, and these continued for some miles up the river; Cap Rouge, at eight miles distance, offered a possible landing-place, but the enemy must first make its way up the river, and must then come down across a rough and thickly wooded country. On the St. Charles side, the fortress was more open to assault. There was a bridge over the river, and across it lay the open country, penetrated by two rivers, the Beaufort and the Montmorenci. This district, thus lying to the east of the fortress, was on the bank of the St. Lawrence, into which the three streams, the St. Charles, the Beaufort, and the Montmorenci, flowed. It was in some measure protected by a wide stretch of mud-flats. Thus the fort and city of Quebec sat on the

great rock, having on the west a line of cliffs, and on the east a line of treacherous shoals and flats. Across the river was an upland called Point Levi, and beside it, opposite the Beaufort flats, was an island whose high ground was called Point Orleans.

In Quebec, accordingly, the Marquis of Montcalm had established himself, awaiting with reasonable confidence the approach of the army which had been raised in England and in New England for his destruction. The commander of these forces was James Wolfe.

Mr. Parkman, to whom every writer on this period is under manifold obligations of gratitude, calls his book on this war by the names of these two men, taking them, as he says, as representing their two nations. The dramatic interest of the campaign centres about them. They were both in the prime of life: Montcalm was forty-seven, Wolfe was thirty-two. They were both of them likable persons, enthusiastic, high-minded, and heroic. The fact that they died in the same battle adds to the personal concern with which the reader of history regards them.

Montcalm was born in 1712, in the Chateau de Candiac, near Nimes. He was brought up by his mother, and taught by a tutor, his father being in the wars. As a lad he set down, in the formal fashion of the time, his early resolutions: to be an honorable man of good morals, brave, and a Christian; to read in moderation; to be fond of intellec-

tual accuracy if I do not possess it myself; to be obedient to my tutor and my dear mother; to fence and ride as well as my small abilities will permit. The boy entered the profession of arms, following the example of his father, and fought valiantly in Italy, in the battles between the French and the Austrians. His valor and abilities made him a fit person to whom to offer the command of the forces of New France. The first thing which he did on receipt of this promotion was to get a book about Canada, and read it; remarking that it contained a good description of Quebec. The next thing was to ask the priest of the little parish where he was brought up to pray for him in church. Then he made such other, and more material, preparation as seemed needful, embraced his wife and his children, and set sail for America.

Wolfe was born in 1727, in an English vicarage. His father, too, was a soldier; and the boy began so early to follow in his steps that at the age of fourteen he was given a commission as second lieutenant in his father's regiment of marines. He fought in Flanders, then in Scotland, opposing the progress of the Pretender. In the intervals of his campaigns he studied Latin in Glasgow and French in Paris; mitigating the austerities of the French grammar with exercises in riding, fencing, and dancing. All that he did was done with great ardor. He showed himself a brave and able officer, and was steadily promoted. Presently he came over here and fought

effectively in the second siege of Louisburg. On his return to England he became engaged to be married to Katherine Lowther. Then Pitt wanted a good man to command the expedition against Quebec, and Wolfe was chosen.

Montcalm, considering the town to be safe from assault along the cliffs to the west, encamped behind the mud-flats to the east, and fortified the shore. A boom of logs protected the mouth of the St. Charles, while high falls secured the mouth of the Montmorenci. The general's headquarters were midway between, beside the Beaufort. In the fortress and the camps were sixteen thousand men. This number, however, included Indians and Canadians; that is, it was largely an undisciplined army. Only about two thousand were regular soldiers.

Wolfe brought up his troops in ships, the English captains without pilots plunging their prows ahead along the perilous channels, guessing at hidden rocks and shoals from the color of the water, but making no mistakes. Thus the regiments were safely disembarked, with the munitions of war, on the Isle of Orleans, four miles below the fortress of Quebec. There were in all nearly nine thousand men. Meanwhile, the French attacked the English fleet with fire-ships, ingenious, diabolical, and dangerous, loaded with explosives, looking as they blazed and exploded in the night like pageants for a festivity in hell. But the fire-ships did no damage. English sailors went boldly out to meet them in their boats, seized the

infernal monsters, and towed them to safe beaches. Beyond this, the French attempted no hostilities. Montcalm's policy was to wait; under the circumstances the wisest possible policy.

Wolfe divided his forces, and intrenched part of them on Point Levi, directly opposite the town. A small body from Quebec endeavored to prevent him. They were made up of townspeople, Canadians, some Indians, some volunteers from the regular army at the camp, and students of theology from the seminary. They set out with all bravery, crossed the river, and climbed the heights three miles from the English camps. But then and there fear fell upon them. Three times the seminarians fired on their own comrades, taking them for foes. Then the whole force, seized with panic, ran and rolled and tumbled down the cliff. Thus without opposition the English from Point Levi proceeded to bombard the city, burning houses, destroying churches, making the place an unsafe residence, and trying, but in vain, to provoke Montcalm to an encounter.

Then Wolfe made another subdivision, establishing a third force across the river, beside the Montmorenci, threatening the east end of Montcalm's camp. Here he planted batteries which fired shot among the tents. Across the deep gorge of the stream the two armies faced one another day after day, sometimes in the heat, sometimes in the rain. At night both batteries were busy; that on Point

Levi hammering at Quebec, and that by the Montmorenci harassing the Beaufort camp.

Presently the English commander, whose troops were already divided by three, divided them by four. Under cover of a fierce cannonade from Point Levi, he worked the ships past the batteries of Quebec into the upper river, and dragged boats over the heights of Levi in which he embarked men on the other side. Thus Cap Rouge and the line of cliffs were open to attack, and Montcalm had to send men to guard them.

The next move was to assault the French camp in force. The camp was in three divisions, Montcalm commanding the centre, Vaudreuil the right wing resting on the St. Charles, and Lévis the left wing resting on the Montmorenci. In front of Lévis's detachment, at the foot of the high bank of the St. Lawrence, lay a narrow strip of dry ground protected by a redoubt, and farther out the receding tide left half a mile of mud. On the last day of July, a concerted attack was made upon this place. As the tide went out in the late afternoon the batteries on Point Lévi and those across the Montmorenci, with the guns of two armed transports, opened fire together, and under cover of the noise and smoke the English disembarked at the edge of the mud, and without waiting for orders made a rush for the steep bank. The French abandoned the redoubt, but poured down an unexpectedly fierce fire from the top of the grassy slope. At the same

moment a storm of rain, which had long been threatening, burst in great fury. The stars in their courses fought against Wolfe, who, thus attacked with fire and water, was compelled to order a retreat.

Foiled in this attempt, Wolfe directed his energies to the upper river. Day by day, under protection of the guns of Point Levi, more and more ships and transports ran the gantlet of the Quebec batteries, and more men had to be detached from the camp at Beauport to guard the cliffs. Bougainville was sent with fifteen hundred soldiers to patrol the bank. Their task was to march and countermarch over a length of fifteen miles to keep the English from landing.

Thus far nothing had been accomplished beyond the partial demolition of Quebec. The English seemed no nearer victory than when the siege began. And at this juncture Wolfe, who was never well, fell ill with fever. From his sick chamber he proposed to his brigadiers three plans for a new assault, each more bold and hazardous than the other. The brigadiers rejected them all, and proposed to find some landing along the upper river. They would scale the cliffs and strike the citadel from behind. This plan Wolfe immediately adopted. He appealed to his physician. "I know perfectly well," he said, "that you cannot cure me, but pray make me up so that I may be without pain for a few days, and able to do my duty. That is all I want." He summoned all his strong will, and got up. He had long

known that his life must be short. Now he knew that what was left of it was numbered by months. Whatever deed was to be done for the service of his country must be done at once.

Indeed, on each side of the river matters had reached a crisis. Both French and English were discouraged. Montcalm's men were deserting, as many as two hundred going off in a single night; and the rations were running short. Wolfe on his side felt that unless he could force an engagement he could not detain his ships, whose officers were demanding to be permitted to go home; and it appears to have been agreed that if the present project failed, the siege would be abandoned.

Wolfe now broke up his camps by the Montmorenci. The ships were in two fleets, one in the upper river by Cap Rouge, the other in the basin opposite Montcalm's intrenchments at Beaufort. The land forces were in two divisions, one on Point Orleans, the other on Point Levi. The commander's energies were bent on the discovery of a landing-place above the fortress. At this moment there happily appeared upon the scene a Scotchman, named Robert Stobo. He had been delivered to the French as a hostage at Fort Necessity, and had been confined at Quebec. While there he had looked about him with the attention and intelligence of a frontiersman, and had found a path which led from a little bay by the face of the cliff. This he pointed out to Wolfe. He could see it through his

telescope, a winding path with a group of white tents at the top ; for Montcalm took no chances. This was chosen as the highway to Quebec.

The fleet above the city, under Admiral Holmes, now drifted with the tide, up and down, between Cap Rouge and Quebec : the forces of Bougainville wearily marching along the shore and back again ; the men in blue on the banks defying the men in red on the boats. The fleet below the city, under Admiral Saunders, threatened the camp at Beaufort, and convinced Montcalm by vigorous cannon fire that that was to be the place of the attack. The land forces were assembled from Orleans and Levi on the south bank of the St. Lawrence opposite the bay at the foot of the path.

So the night came on, the tide began to ebb, and Holmes's ships with Wolfe on board drifted again down the river. Bougainville took pity on his tired men and did not follow them. Word had come to Wolfe that the French were expecting provision boats that night ; thus the English were able to satisfy the sentries along the river. As they drifted down toward the place of attack in the dark night, between the black banks, keeping still silence, Wolfe to quiet his nerves and those of his officers recited in a low voice Gray's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," saying at the end that he would rather have written those lines than take Quebec. Thus they reached the little bay of Anse du Foulon. Twenty-four picked men, with all the forces behind them,

climbed the path. The captain of the port had that day given the guard leave of absence to go home and look after their farms. And he himself had gone to bed. So the place was easily forced, and in the dark of the early morning up came the army and was put in array on a level field called the Plains of Abraham, between the St. Lawrence and the St. Charles, facing the fortress.

All night Montcalm had been expecting an attack at Beaufort, and had passed the whole time without sleep, riding up and down, in great agitation, while Saunders's cannon pounded at the intrenchments. About six o'clock in the morning he rode to Vaudreuil's division, and there caught sight across the St. Charles of the redcoats on the heights. "This," he said, "is a serious business." The whole French army was at once put in motion, brought on the run across the river and into the city, and thence upon the plain; "troops of Indians in scalp-locks and war-paint, a savage glitter in their deep-set eyes; bands of Canadians whose all was at stake, — faith, country, and home; the colony regulars; the battalions of old France, a torrent of white uniforms and gleaming bayonets." There they faced one another, the English and the French, the Latin and the Saxon, New England and New France, to fight for the possession of a continent. The French advanced. The English met them with a volley so simultaneous all along the line that it sounded like a cannon-shot; another volley followed, and then a

charge over the field covered with dead and wounded. Wolfe, leading the charge, was struck by a shot which shivered his wrist, but he wrapped his handkerchief about the wound and kept on; he was hit a second time, then a third time in the breast. He stopped, and sat upon the ground, saying, "It's all over with me." Meanwhile, the French were in retreat, and somebody near Wolfe cried, "They run; see how they run!" "Who runs?" he said. "The enemy, sir; they give way everywhere." "Now, God be praised," he answered; "I will die in peace!"

Montcalm, shot through the body and covered with blood, was borne through the fortress gate, saying, "It's nothing, it's nothing; don't be troubled for me, my good friends." Presently they had to tell him that the wound was mortal. "I am glad of it," he said; and when they informed him that he could not last twelve hours, "So much the better," he replied, "I am happy that I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec."

The war did not actually end with the battle of the Plains of Abraham. There was further discussion on fields of battle, and much debate in the council-chambers of the states of Europe. The official conclusion of hostilities was effected by the peace of Paris in 1763. But the taking of Quebec was the decisive victory. From that blow New France never recovered.

The Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, of Boston, preaching on the battle of Quebec, pictured the splendid

future of the colonies, and prophesied that the continent thus won by men of Saxon blood would be the seat of a mighty empire. But he added, "I do not mean an independent one." That independence, however, was the inevitable next step. At the beginning of the war the American colonists had seen the regular soldiers of the British army meet defeat in the woods near Fort Duquesne. At the end of the war, American troops on the Plains of Abraham had put the forces of France to flight. They had thus discovered a native strength which gave them confidence and boldness. Then, when a foolish king and parliament behaved foolishly, they arose in protest. The battle of Quebec determined whether America should be French or English; and it led straight on to the determination of another question, — whether the English settlers on this soil should be colonists or citizens. "With the triumph of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham began the history of the United States."

THE RELIGIOUS SPIRIT OF THE
COLONISTS AND ITS INFLUENCE
UPON THEIR SUCCESS

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THE RELIGIOUS SPIRIT OF THE COLONISTS AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON THEIR SUCCESS

ON looking below the surface, one finds an astonishing harmony between piety and success. Without faith no man can please God, for he must believe that God is, and that He rewards those who seek earnestly after Him. This is the very foundation of religion, one of those shining truths which seem, like Sirius or the Pole-star, to hang in the tree-tops, but in reality beam upon us from across the universe. Now a simple change of terms in this formula, a mere substitution of secular for sacred words, makes it the primer of success. Without faith it is impossible to achieve, for one must believe there is something worth while to do, and that by taking pains one may accomplish it ; and, as religion is the deepest instinct of human nature, it would seem to follow that the rule of piety is the basal thing, and the rule of success rests upon it, like the second story of a house upon the first.

This, however, is theory ; what are the facts ? In the early life of our country, where the success was extraordinary, can we discover piety running parallel with it ? Did the colonists possess the spirit of

religion, and, if they did, what influence had it upon their fortunes? This is a large question to attack with a small sheet of paper; but happily a few words may tell something, though even a great many could not tell all.

It is interesting to recall in the first place that religion had a hand in the discovery of America. "Christopher" means Christ-bearer, and Columbus took the name seriously. "God made me a messenger of the new heavens," he said. It was the archbishop of Toledo who advised King Ferdinand to have Columbus heard by the learned men; it was the prior of Rabida who induced Queen Isabella to send for the bold navigator; he embarked after a solemn service of the church; prayers and hymns, as well as timid murmurs, filled the breezes that wafted his caravels toward the unknown shores; and a "Glory to God in the Highest" was perhaps the first European word that quivered among the palm trees of "San Salvador."

More than a century rolled past after the glorious morning of the discovery, before the first permanent hearths within what we now call the United States began to send their smoke skyward. May 13, 1607, three small vessels crept up James River, and were moored to the trees of a green Virginia meadow. A struggle for existence began at once, but religion was not forgotten. Indeed, how could it have been, when the company's charter had expressly in view "the glory of His Divine Majesty in propagating

of the Christian religion to such people as sit in darkness"? First the settlers worshipped in "a rotten tent." Next they nailed a bar of wood between two trees for a reading desk, stretched an old sail in front for an awning, and sat patiently on logs through the long prayers and sermon. Before long a church arose among the trees, though — truth to tell — the struggling colonists were able to put up only a log shanty, "covered with rafts, sedge, and dirt," "that could neither well defend wind nor rain"; and in 1610 a very grand edifice, sixty feet long and twenty-four broad, gave something like adequate shelter to the worshippers. Captain John Smith, on his daring journeys through the wilderness, used to begin the days of peril and hardship with a prayer and a psalm; and he, with Rev. Robert Hunt, whom he called "an honest, religious, and courageous divine," were the savor that preserved the colony.

Many other parts of the United States owed their settlement even more essentially to religious motives. The Pilgrims of Plymouth and the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay hardly need be mentioned. Many Roman Catholics, driven from England by the hostility of the government, crossed the Atlantic. Thousands of Quakers fled eagerly from persecution to the haven of Penn's "holy experiment." Huguenots, pursued by the horrible memories of St. Bartholomew, took refuge in South Carolina after the tolerant edict of Nantes was revoked (1685), or

planted farther north such names as Bayard, Jay, and Faneuil. Scotch Presbyterians came over in sturdy groups after the "Drunken Parliament" had required them, at the king's behest, to accept a hated church (1662); and fellow-churchmen from Ireland joined them on the western shore of the Atlantic.

Political and religious oppression united in driving a multitude of Germans from their beloved Rhine. When thirty thousand, speaking the same language, were exiled for their religion from the Duchy of Salzburg in 1731, America became the home of not a few; and certain religious bodies of Germany transferred themselves to our shores so completely that at present none of their persuasion can be discovered in the fatherland. In short, if religion had much to do with giving the New World to the Old, it did still more in bringing the Old World to the New.

And what else could have peopled our colonies either so rapidly or so well? Here stood the vast forests, and here lay a boundless wealth of deep soil waiting for the plough; but no gold flashed its yellow glances from our streams and rocks with promises of a quick reward. The land offered riches, to be sure, but only at the price of exile, hardship, loneliness, and long toil; it had much for the future, but little for the present. The desperate, the roving, the poverty-stricken, the outcast, might find it a refuge, though a hard one. But why should the sober, intelligent, industrious people, those most

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desirable as colonists, and for the same reason best fitted to thrive at home, — why should such as they sever dear ties, abandon smooth fields, leave cosey homes, and condemn themselves to a harsh, meagre, and painful existence? Conscience gave the reason; and America gained exactly the sort of immigrants it needed as the foundation-stones of empire; men and women of courage, of energy, of will, of intelligence, of high moral character, and what had a value no less real, — men and women of ideals, who could look beyond the mountains, however rocky, and work for a long and mighty future.

Such people could endure. Before the first summer breezes kissed the bay at Plymouth, half of the Pilgrims had found a resting-place under the bleak sod; yet, when the *Mayflower* spread her sails for the old home, not a soul went back. God had brought them to this new land, they believed. God had a purpose for them to realize, and their only thought was to stay and do His will.

Horace Bushnell pointed out that a natural result of great migrations is a lapse toward barbarism. To pass long years in a hand-to-hand struggle with brute forces tends to materialize thought and feeling; and when the barest wants of the appetites can hardly be satisfied, it seems almost absurd to strive for more. Our ancestors felt all this, and they saw about them a race of people — the aborigines — who appeared to fit this rude environment better than Europeans did. Why not be like them? Or, at least, why

not be contented with simply improving upon them?

Against this real danger, the religion of the colonists guarded them. It was not a mere human standard of comfort which stood before them, but a divine rule of thought, feeling, and conduct. They felt they were the sons, not of the forest, but of the Almighty Spirit, who with a word created that ocean of pines. The Bible, the hymns, the sermons, the prayers, keyed up their souls far above the plane of barbaric satisfactions; and instead of imitating the Indian, they looked upon him with a sense of transcendent superiority — often harsh, but often wholesome — as a child of the devil, worthy only to be converted or to be destroyed.

For many of the colonists no doubt the second of these alternatives came soon to cover the whole case. The gospel of the "dead Indian" got an early start in this country; and brave Captain Underhill, whether sipping a glass of grog or twanging a hymn, could think of the Pequots roasting on their own palisades as a godly sight. But the devilish cruelties of the savage and his infernal cunning can explain, if not justify, such views; and over against them we may set brave Jonathan Edwards, a man of the highest intellect, burying himself among the Stockbridges of the Massachusetts wilds; heroic Wheelock, founding among the pines of New Hampshire a school for Indians that was destined to grow up into Dart-

mouth College ; and many another who devotedly instructed the natives.

Working in such directions as these, religion pushed back the confines of savagery, and planted civilization amid the wilderness. It accomplished the same result in another way. Men of such deep convictions could not fail to express them. Freedom of conscience was the breath of their spiritual nostrils ; and, as differences of opinion had to arise, there was considerable splitting off of divergent groups, the founding of new settlements, and the radiation of civilization from new centres. It was a question of conscience which freed Jonathan Edwards from his parish at Northampton. Similar differences led Roger Williams from Boston to found Rhode Island. A longing for greater liberty drew Thomas Hooker from Massachusetts into a second exile ; and he with his people, choosing rather to build on no other man's foundation, established a new home in Connecticut.

And it was not only material prosperity and spiritual inspiration that radiated from the piety of Christian villages. Many of the early leaders can be classed among the intellectually great. John Cotton, John Wilson, Thomas Hooker, Thomas Shepard, and Governor Winthrop were the associates or correspondents of Milton, Bunyan, Lightfoot, Selden, and Baxter. Such men believed in education. The school followed hard on the church, especially in New England ; and the need of worthy

ministers gave birth to higher institutions of learning. "To the religious zeal and fearless energy of the early Puritans, Harvard College owes its origin," says the "College Book." "Whereas, the want of able and faithful ministers in this country deprives us of those great blessings and mercies that always attend the service of God,"—this was the legal corner-stone of William and Mary, twenty-two years later. Ten ministers gathered in 1700 and founded the third college, Yale, with gifts of books. The College of New Jersey assembled first in the study of a minister, "the learned and very excellent Mr. Dickinson." The earliest thought of Columbia College appears in the records of Trinity Church, and its earliest president officiated as assistant minister in that parish. But we need not multiply illustrations. All recognize and laud the precious and even essential contributions of the early churches to the cause of education.

The greatest success of the colonies lay in ceasing to be colonies. The transformation of scattered communities hanging to the skirts of royalty beyond the sea, knowing little about one another and caring still less, into a united, independent, constitutional democracy seemed impossible, but it did come to pass. Had religion anything to do with this particular miracle?

It is true, no doubt, that creeds varied. New England stood firmly for Congregationalism, and Virginia with equal zeal for the Church of England ;

and little love was lost between the denominations, for there was little to lose. But while ecclesiastics held apart, the unity of the spirit made a way for itself. Starting from the work of Jonathan Edwards at Northampton, and borne as on the wings of the whirlwind by the passionate voice of Whitefield, the tremendous thrill of the Great Awakening, the enthusiasm and almost delirium of "revival" swept over the people, north and south, about a quarter of a century before the American Revolution. Whitefield and other preachers were in a real sense the ambassadors of brotherhood; people far apart became conscious of one another; and sympathies discovered that mountains, rivers, and colony frontiers had no power to stop them.

Independence lay close to the heart of Pilgrims and Puritans, we know; and almost all the religious bodies of the colonies breathed the same spirit. How could it have been otherwise? Quakers and Huguenots, Presbyterians and Roman Catholics, all had felt the oppression of government, and all had sought exile for the sake of liberty. This profound purpose to be free, nurtured in the boundless vistas of the untamed wilderness, passed on as the dearest inheritance of their children, and became an axiom in the thought of America. The aggressive and overbearing attempts to force the Church of England upon the colonies tended powerfully to rouse opposition against the British government. Not a few ministers were the political as well as religious lighthouses of

the community ; and when the clash of arms came, they not only preached the patriot cause, but sometimes, like Thomas Allen at Bennington, were found musket in hand on the field of battle.

Is this vague and intangible? No doubt such an influence cannot be measured, yet that does not in the least affect its reality. The spirit is more than the body, for when the spirit goes, the body is dead ; and the sentiments of a people make the difference between progress and decay, between dominance and servitude, between grandeur and shame. But if something more definite be desired, we have it.

It was a good Puritan custom to take notes of the sermons one heard. May 31, 1638, Rev. Thomas Hooker, of whom we heard a little while since, preached as usual in his Connecticut pulpit, and Henry Wolcott, Jr., set down in his book the heads of the discourse. Not long since the shorthand of this abstract was deciphered, and here is the result : —

Deut. I. 13. Take you wise men, and understanding, and known among your tribes, and I will make them rulers over you. Captains over thousands, and captains over hundreds, over fifties, over tens, etc.

DOCTRINE. I. That the choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people, by God's own allowance.

II. The privilege of election, which belongs to the people, therefore must not be exercised according to their humours, but according to the blessed will and law of God.

III. They who have power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power, also, to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place into which they call them.

REASONS. 1. Because the foundation of authority is laid, firstly, in the free consent of the people.

2. Because, by a free choice, the hearts of the people will be more inclined to the love of the persons chosen and more ready to yield obedience.

3. Because of that duty and engagement of the people.

USES. The lesson taught is threefold : —

1st. There is matter of thankful acknowledgement in the appreciation of God's faithfulness toward us, and the permission of these measures that God doth command and vouchsafe.

2dly. Of reproof, to dash the councils of all those that shall oppose it.

3dly. Of exhortation, to persuade us, as God hath given us liberty, to *take* it.

And, lastly, as God hath spared our lives, and given us them in liberty, so to seek the guidance of God, and to choose in God and for God.

Reflect well on this. Americans were exhorted to "take" their God-given liberty; here lay the principle of the Revolution. But that was not all. Unlike the famous compact signed by the Pilgrims in the little cabin of the *Mayflower*, Hooker's programme recognized no royal authority, no class privilege. All power belonged, under God, to the community, it declared. This meant the system we now live under, government "of the people, by the people, for the people." It was a thoroughly American spirit, and this American spirit found embodiment within a year in the organic law of Connecticut, the first American constitution. The influence of the example reached back into Massachusetts and forward into newer settlements; and

one may say broadly that a preacher's hand led this country from a text in Deuteronomy, by way of the Declaration of Independence, to Lincoln's Gettysburg Oration.

By this time we see not only the reality but the quality and potency of the religious spirit in the colonies. It was free, bold, fearless, high in mental power, full of hope, faith, and endurance, rich in promise, and fertile in fruits of many sweet and wholesome kinds. Of course there were degrees. Not all men burned with zeal for God's cause. Trade with tipsy Indians at a profit of two hundred per cent; broad acres full of tobacco bowing in the wind, and slaves bending still lower; ships deeply laden; woods falling before the axe; nets breaking with lustrous mackerel;—these were interests which even the elect could not despise. Some of the "godly" deceived themselves, some deceived others, and some deceived nobody. In certain quarters, even clergymen sometimes lived and preached no better than they should have done. The high thinking and exalted sentiment of Hunt, and Robinson, and Hooker, and Edwards could not carry the mass of the people their full length. But such men were great lights, and even the dullest and the worst of their fellow-citizens could not wholly escape from the radiance. In effect, the religious spirit of the colonies was all-embracing; and we easily trace its beneficent effects in settlement and growth, in material and social development, in education, and in politics.

But the Blue Laws, the banishment of Roger Williams, the Quakers, the witches !

It is, of course, impossible to acquit our pious ancestors of all narrowness and over-strictness ; but let him that is faultless cast the first reproach. Perfection has perhaps not been attained even by us. If we call Massachusetts Bay and the Old Dominion intolerant, they may perhaps call us flabby ; and whatever we may plead on the score of amiability, they may claim as much by the standard of success, our present theme ; for the wheel obeys that water which runs almost fiercely down the narrow conduit, not that which reposes agreeably in the pond, here lovely with heaven's own blue, but there muddy, perhaps, and yonder covered with a hectic iridescence.

Yet something more needs to be said. The severity of the colonists was not simple harshness and coldness, but the watchfulness of the householder, bolting the door and unchaining the mastiff to protect hearth, family, and treasure. If the outside looked grim and forbidding, it was because that within seemed precious. In 1781 a French traveller, the abbé Robin, visited America ; and he recorded with astonishment how Boston, "that populous town," where at other times one saw a rush of business, became on Sunday a mere desert. One could walk the streets without meeting a single person ; or, if by chance a citizen came in sight, one scarcely dared offer him a word. And still this traveller,

though alien to all such ideas, could not but call it an affecting sight to find the inmates of every house gathered on that day to read the Bible, and the father of the family expounding the sublime truths of the sacred volume.

Roger Williams was no doubt pious, learned, eloquent, sincere, generous, devoted; but these and many more adjectives could not make it possible for Massachusetts to get on with him. As the case has been stated, he "separated" from the Church of England, and then "separated" from everybody who would not separate from it, and then from all who would not part from these, until for conscience' sake he found it impossible to hold fellowship with his wife in family prayers. He would not agree with his neighbors, and he would not keep quiet. Character and talents gave him influence; he stirred up sedition at home, and seemed likely to embroil the colony with the government in England. So, after long patience, he was told to look for his peculiar style of liberty in the spacious region outside Massachusetts Bay, as he should have done without such an invitation; and in a spirit of mutual respect and good-will he and the colony throve apart.

In her treatment of the Friends, early Massachusetts looked very unlovely. They were denounced, threatened, imprisoned, hanged. They had, in fact, a very hard time in many quarters. But that was precisely what they wanted. Far, indeed, were many of the early Friends from those amiable saints

who sit down together in drab vesture and drab silence, waiting until some gentle voice, waked by the spirit, breaks — yet hardly breaks — the stillness of self-communion. Crazy to go where they were not desired, they coveted persecution and insisted upon having it. Authority they scouted. Law they derided. They fully deserved punishment; and the mistake of the magistrates lay chiefly in prosecuting them openly for what seemed — and was — the true source of trouble, — their manner of religion.

Our blood boils at the suffering of the “witches.” The pointed finger of a silly or malicious child could send a guiltless woman to the death. Greed found its door, and revenge its hour. But let us beware of condemning Massachusetts less reasonably than Massachusetts condemned them. The Bible seemed ample authority for believing in witchcraft and “possession”; and the public, in all directions, whether accepting the authority or not, quite generally indorsed the doctrine. Even such luminaries as Coke, Bacon, Hale, and Blackstone admitted the possibility of witchcraft. And in reality there were grounds for the belief. Human nature contains mysteries that nobody has yet fathomed. Proved facts of hypnotism, “mind-reading,” “telepathy,” and clairvoyance, for example, to say nothing of hysterics and insanity, teach that our philosophy does not even dream of all that is, — much less explain it. The educated world, in the main, has now decided to march along

the high, dry ridge of common sense, and ignore the gorges below where strange figures move and uncanny eyes gleam out of the caverns ; but our fathers, with more courage and less prudence, with more consistency and less experience, believed that devils infested these nether regions of consciousness, and that it was a duty to drive them out. They erred in judgment like the rest of their world, they blundered much, and were no doubt often imposed upon ; but the fact that we should be inexcusable for acting as they did, cannot prove that no excuse for them existed.

Those were stern, hard times. The criminal codes then enforced by the most enlightened nations look horrible now. More than one hundred offences were formerly punished with death in England,—even so small a thing as filching a sixpence from somebody's breeches-pocket. The institutions of the colonists had cost dearly, and were dearly prized. Attempts to ruin them could only expect harsh treatment, and harsh treatment they received. But let us judge righteous judgment, and not according to the appearance. Let it never be forgotten how much tenderness and profound love nestled within those rough bosoms. The Puritans looked upon the Pilgrims as in a sense deserters, for the latter forsook the church which the former wished to correct from within, and the forces of reform were by so much weakened ; yet hear the letter of Governor Endicott of Salem to Governor Bradford of Plymouth : —

“Right worthy Sir: It is a thing not usual that servants to one master and of the same household should be strangers. I assure you I desire it not; nay, to speak more plainly, I cannot be so to you. God’s people are marked with one and the same mark, and sealed with one and the same seal, and have, for the main, one and the same heart, guided by one and the same Spirit of truth, and where this is there can be no discord, — nay, here must needs be sweet harmony. The same request with you I make unto the Lord, that we may as Christian brethren be united by a heavenly and unfeigned love.”

“Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it,” — so declared a poet long ago; and history has crystallized this bit of psalmistry into the corner-stone of state. An individual denier of everything can exist and even prosper, for the community may savor his actions if not his thoughts; but a nation taking for its charter “There is no God” must go down, like the French Commune, in disorder and riot, in alcohol, petroleum, and blood.

Such was not the fate of the American colonists. They believed, hoped, labored, endured, and triumphed. No doubt the treasure was in earthen vessels. No doubt they must be classed, like their children, as fallible, short-sighted, hasty mortals. But the root of the matter was in them; and we of to-day feel satisfaction, cheer, and hope largely because, looking back and looking up, we can say, “The God of our fathers.”

THE TOWN-MEETING

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THE TOWN-MEETING

THE colonies that became the United States were settled chiefly by English emigrants. Although there were the Dutch of New Netherland or New York, and the Palatine Germans of Pennsylvania, and the Scotch-Irish, who, like a human flood, poured southward through the fertile valleys of the Appalachian region, and the French Huguenots who were sprinkled here and there along the Atlantic seaboard, it still is true that, from Maine to Carolina, the American colonies were essentially English. It was natural that Englishmen who thus went over the sea to plant a greater England in North America should carry with them the institutions with which they had been familiar in the island that they left behind, *as far as those institutions were satisfactory to them.*

Because of differences in these English colonists themselves and of other differences in the conditions by which in their new home they were surrounded, some of the colonies developed along lines that did not exactly coincide with the tendencies of other colonies. These differences were to be expected, and some of them came to be characteristic. For instance, the settlers of Virginia, at least those who

came of their own free will, had no fault to find with the English church or the English state. There was no reason why they should not adopt such familiar English institutions as shires or counties and their subdivisions known as parishes. In the southern colonies, of which Virginia may be taken as the type, the county became the unit of representation and administration. The chief authority in the parish was the vestry, which soon became what is called a close corporation; the people had no voice in the selection of its members. On the other hand, the early settlers of Massachusetts had felt in England the heavy hand of the established church and were out of sympathy with many things that were English. The word "parish" was loaded with unpleasant associations. The New England pioneers set up the township as the unit of political organization. Their local authority was the democratic town-meeting, not the aristocratic vestry.

Many writers have traced the New England town-meeting back through early English history to the plains that fringe the Elbe and the Weser, the ancient home of Anglo-Saxon freedom. It is possible that these New England settlers brought with them from Old England, or from Holland, by way of which some of them came to America, an idea of government by the governed, or, as Lincoln worded it, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Perhaps when they called their new settlements "towns" they knew that the word was

derived from the Anglo-Saxon word "tun," and that their "township" was essentially the same as the "tunscape" of their Anglo-Saxon ancestors. But it is more probable that they had no such knowledge, and that the town-meeting was the natural outgrowth of the new conditions in which they found themselves. Of course, we shall be reminded that such institutions are growths and not inventions. On the other hand, we shall not forget that these pioneers of New England did some things that had never been done before, like the framing of the compact signed in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, itself a foreshadow of the town-meeting, and the "Fundamental Orders" of Connecticut, the first written constitution for a state that the world had ever seen.

By the time that the Pilgrims, who landed in Plymouth in 1620, had built their homes and fortified their church, they had formed a settlement in which each had a share, and adopted a local government in which each had a voice. The settlement became the town, and all affairs of common interest were regulated in an assembly that became the town-meeting. For several years the authority of this Plymouth assembly, which was open to every freeman, extended to the limits of the colony. It is difficult to tell when Plymouth became a town. It never was incorporated, — that is to say, it never was, by any act of colonial legislation, created into a municipality. Its first recognition as a town was when the Plymouth general court, on the 28th of

October, 1633, ordered "that the chiefe government be tyed to the towne of Plymouth and that the governor for the time being be tyed there to keepe his residence & dwelling." This October day is therefore looked upon as the date of the birth of the town as distinct from the colony.

Ten years after the Pilgrim landing, Winthrop followed Endecott to Salem and began the colony of Massachusetts Bay. These Puritan pioneers separated into groups. Like their Pilgrim predecessors, they were a religious people. Each plantation clustered about the meeting-house, and the ability to get there on Sunday had much to do with determining the limits of the town. John Adams defined the colonial New Englander as "a meeting-going animal."

The beginnings of local civil government in Massachusetts are not easy to trace. In July, 1629, the inhabitants at Salem organized a church and chose by ballot a pastor and a teacher. The assembly at which this was done has been called the first town-meeting in Massachusetts. For a time the church and the town were almost, if not altogether, identical. Church officers and town officers were chosen at the same meeting, and the church records and the town records were one. The first record of the organization of any special town government is that of Dorchester, October 8, 1633, when it was "ordered that, for the general good and well-ordering of the affairs of the plantation, there shall be every Monday before the court,

by 8 o'clock A.M., and presently by the beating of the drum, a general meeting of the inhabitants of the plantation at the meeting-house, there to settle and set down such orders as may tend to the general good as aforesaid." Similar action was soon taken by other settlements which, without any formal act of incorporation, were recognized by the colonial general court as towns.

In 1634, the Massachusetts general court appointed a committee to establish the boundaries between the towns and to settle any that were in dispute. In the same year, the towns were authorized to choose deputies to represent them in the general court; and, in 1636, that court made the following order, which became the legal foundation of the Massachusetts town system: "Whereas particular townes have many things which concerne only themselves & the ordering of their owne affaires, and disposing of business in their owne towne, it is therefore ordered that the ffreemen of every towne, or the major parte of them shall onely [*i.e.*, alone] have power to dispose of their owne lands & woods with all the prevelidges & appurtenances of the said townes, to graunt lotts & make such orders as may concerne the well ordering of their owne townes, not repugnant to the lawes & orders here established by the Generall Court."

The Massachusetts Company was a commercial association created to establish and maintain a plantation at the Massachusetts Bay. Its authority

was derived from a charter granted by the king. Its members were then called proprietors; to-day they would be called stockholders. At stated periods, the proprietors assembled in corporate meeting which they called the great or general court. The general court chose "assistants" to aid in the management of the affairs of the corporation, much as a modern corporation would select a board of directors. As the company grew into a colony, the general court admitted to a voice in its control certain approved freeholders or inhabitants, each of whom thus became a "freeman of the colony." After a while, the general court consisted of the deputies chosen by the several towns, as already explained.

In some cases, the general court created smaller and subordinate corporations, each with its body of proprietors to whom was assigned a designated territory known as a town. Each "proprietary," as these subordinate corporations were called, constituted a local land company with powers of jurisdiction. The proprietors assigned lands to themselves, admitted others to the proprietary, and even sold or granted lands to those who had no share in the undivided lands, and no part in the administration of the corporation. Much like successive lantern pictures on the screen, the functions of the land company were gradually dissolved into those of a local government, and the assembly of the proprietors was transformed into the town-meeting. The

approved individuals who were admitted to a voice in the management of town affairs became, by such admission, "freeholders" or "inhabitants" of the town.

One who had been admitted by the town as an "inhabitant" might be "propounded" at a meeting of the general court, and elected a "freeman," as already indicated. None but the "freemen of the colony" enjoyed the full right of suffrage or complete colonial citizenship. In time, Massachusetts absorbed Plymouth, and Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire came into being. Each of these New England colonies was similarly apportioned into towns. Each town was a little incorporated republic, and the town-meeting was its legislature.

In the early years of Massachusetts and Connecticut every one was required to go to church. The Plymouth records show that there were frequent fines for absence from church; and at Eastham, in 1665, it was voted that any person who stood outside the meeting-house in the time of public service should be set in the stocks. Every one was taxed for the support of the church, and no one was accepted as an "inhabitant" of the town who was not a church member. No church membership was recognized as a suffrage qualification except that in the church that they called Orthodox and that we call Congregational. Episcopalians, Baptists, Quakers, and Roman Catholics

were looked upon with as little favor by the New England Puritans as the Puritans themselves had been by the Old England bishops. But, before the end of the seventeenth century, town-meeting suffrage was thrown open to all adult male inhabitants, subject to a small property qualification. Thereafter the town-meeting was a purely political organization.

In the beginning, a town-meeting was held whenever there was occasion for one. But such a meeting stopped all other business, and attendance was compulsory upon the inhabitants. At Eastham, in 1705, it was ordered that any qualified voter living within seven miles of the meeting-house "who shall not attend at the time appointed, or by the time the meeting is called to order, or shall depart before the meeting closes without leave of the moderator, or shall speak without liberty, shall be fined 6*d.* for every such default." Thus, the performance of the duty was very different from entering a booth, depositing a ballot in a box, and hurrying on to shop or office with so little loss of time that, at night, the voter forgets that he has voted. To lessen the burdens thus imposed, it soon became common to choose selectmen with authority to transact some of the routine business, and to hold only three or four town-meetings in a twelvemonth. This was the beginning of the way that led to the modern representative government of the villages and cities that grew up within the original towns. Whenever there was need of a meeting, it was called by the selectmen.

Two weeks before the town-meeting, the constable served the inhabitants with copies of the warrant that the selectmen had prepared. This warrant gave notice of the matters that were to be considered, and no business not thus specified could be taken up at the meeting. The inhabitants who assembled at the time and place specified were generally called to order by the town clerk. After a prayer by the minister, the warrant was produced and read. Sometimes the reading of important colonial laws preceded the election of a presiding officer who was generally called the moderator. The title plainly indicates that the debates sometimes ran into turbulence, and that then there was something to moderate.

All having had notice of the meeting, the action of the meeting was binding upon all, whether those present were many or few. Of course, some of the inhabitants had greater influence than others. With the advantages of superior education and his ecclesiastical dignity, the minister sometimes played the part of the modern political "boss." But each individual present, whether a freeman of the colony or only a freeholder of the town, had an equal right to express his opinion, and the vote of the poor and humble was as potent as that of the rich and proud.

When a question had been discussed, it was put to vote and generally decided by loud shouts of "ay" and "nay." There were few difficulties concerning an honest election and a fair count, for if any

inhabitant was dissatisfied with the result of the oral declaration as announced by the moderator, he could demand a show of hands, a "handy vote" it was called. Under such procedure, each person could make his own count, and fraud or error was sure to be discovered. After a while, "papers" or written ballots came into use for certain purposes, such as the election of officers.

No two of these towns were just alike and each one worked out its problems in its own way. Among these problems were "religious heresies, land-titles, internal improvements, and means of communication; education, temperance, pauperism, and the care of the insane; public lands, currency, taxation, and municipal debt"; as well as matters of state, the discussion of which made the town-meeting a school of public opinion concerning the rights and wrongs of colonists. For instance, almost a century before the American Declaration of Independence was adopted, the Ipswich town-meeting voted that it was "against the rights of Englishmen to have rates laid upon them without their consent in an assembly or parliament," and in 1731 the Boston town-meeting adopted the following minute:—

Voted an Intire Satisfaction in the Town in the late Conduct of their Representatives in Endeavoring to preserve their Valuable Privileges, and Pray their further Endeavors therein.

From such large affairs the people assembled in

town-meeting easily turned their attention to the appropriation of a few shillings for ringing the bell and sweeping the meeting-house, or "for the exchange of a Town cow" (Braintree, 1694), or the hiring of William Nelson "to keep the cowes this yeare at the same wages he had the last yeare wich is 50 bushels of Indian Corne and is to keep them untill the middle of November next" (Plymouth, March, 1637), or ordering that "Euery one shall Ringe ther hoggs befor the 20th of this Mounth," or that "noe Child vnder the Age of Tenn years shall Carry Anny ffyer from one house to an other, nor anny other person vnles It be couerd [covered] vppon the forfeituer of xii^d a tyme" (Cambridge, 1636). In those days, spelling was largely regulated by individual choice, and a free-and-easy orthography was no evidence of illiteracy. Even in the higher record of a general court, Governor Hinckley's cow was mentioned as "haueing the tipps of bother hornes sawed off." Not less amusing is the occasional careless composition of a town clerk, such as, "what ever Hog shallbe found vnringed or vnyoaked, aboue eight weekes ould, shall pay vnto him that pounds them 3^d per heade for every such default" (Cambridge, 8^d. 3^{mo}. 1647).

In 1661 New London engaged a minister, and, as we read, "Mr. Tinker, James Morgan, and Obadiah Bruen are chosen to seat the people [assign seats] in the meeting-house, which, they doing, the inhabitants are to rest silent." No prudent person

coveted such an appointment, and penalties were often imposed for refusals to serve on a committee the duties of which were of so delicate a nature. Seats in the meeting-house were assigned according to social rank ; as Whittier expresses it,

“ In the goodly house of worship, where in order due and fit,
As by public vote directed, classed and ranked the people sit,
Mistress first and goodwife after, clerkly squire before the clown,
From the brave coat, lace-embroidered, to the gray frock shading
down.”

In 1663 a man was “ chosen for this next yeare to drumm Saboth days and as formerly for meetings.” In 1671 “ Mr. Edward Palmes hath liberty granted to make a seate for himself and relatives at ye north end of ye pulpitt.” In 1691 Eastham fined a man £1 for “ lying about a whale.” At Provincetown, in what Thoreau called the sandy fist of the bared and bended arm of Massachusetts, it was ordered, in 1775, that for every dog that comes into the meeting-house on the Sabbath day in the time of meeting the owner shall pay half a dollar or kill his dog. For striking her husband, Sarah Morgan had to “ stand with a gagg in her mouthe halfe an houre ” at a public town-meeting in Kittery, Maine, “ with the cause of her sentence writ upon her forehead,” and at Plymouth, in 1658, James Wiatt was sharply reprovved for writing a letter on Sunday or “ at least in the evening somewhat too soon.” In brief, the town-meeting had a watchful eye and ready voice for anything that concerned the welfare of the

public or the conduct of the individual. It fixed the bedtime of the inhabitants, determined their hours of labor, and exercised a parental supervision that no adult population of to-day would willingly tolerate. "The hand of the town democracy was upon the shoulder of every man in his daily work and walk."

The early New Englander had crossed the sea to secure the right to govern himself after his own manner, not to found an asylum for the oppressed or unfortunate of earth. Having built his house, he did not feel that he was under any obligation to leave the front door open. Undesirable visitors were given a cool greeting, and, if they did not take the hint, they were told in unmistakable English that their room was better than their company. Thus, in Scituate, in 1667, it was recorded that, "Whereas some persons out of their owne sinister endes and by-respects have too aptly been harborers or entertayners of strangers coming from other townes, by which meanes the Towne cometh to be burdened . . . the Towne did enact that if any person should entertayn any stranger, after being admonished by a committee chosen for such purpose, he should forfeit and pay 10s. for each week." At the same meeting, it was voted "that Mr. Black should depart the Towne presently." In 1671 Lancaster town served notice on William Lincoln as follows: "In his majesties name you are Required to withdraw yourselfe and family, and to depart the

towne forthwith, in Regard the towns men [select-men] vterly disclaimes you an inhabitant." In 1710 Braintree voted that "twelve pounds be raised for John Penniman of Swansea provided that the town be forever cleared of him."

The "annual town-meeting" was generally held in March, but other meetings were often held in the course of the year. In some towns, a meeting was held every month, and in the troublesome twelve months of 1774-1775 the people of Boston met in town-meeting on thirty-one different days. At Braintree, near Boston, town officers were chosen in March, a deputy or delegate to the general court was elected in May, and in November (1710-1711) Mr. Adams, the schoolmaster, was "impowered to demand a Load of wood of each boy that comes to school this winter."

It is probable that the course of study of the Braintree school was limited to the essentials of an English education, but it is never safe to draw a general conclusion from a single fact. A Massachusetts law of 1642 required every town to maintain a public school, and in 1662 Plymouth required every town to have "a schoolmaster set up." These schools were supported by town rates, private contributions, or tuition fees, or by a combination of these methods. In 1677 £5 from the fishery money was offered to any town that would maintain a "grammar school," by which was meant a school in which Latin was taught. In 1673 Swansea voted

to set up a school for rhetoric, arithmetic, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and at the end of the list, as if the subjects had been previously overlooked, added the words, "also to read English and to write." A like fondness for an "enriched" course of study was shown by the Plymouth general court, which was giving the fishing excise in aid of a classical and elementary school. The colonial officials were so insistent upon the teaching of Latin and Greek that, in 1674, the Plymouth town-meeting ordered that due attention be paid to reading, writing, and arithmetic—the famous three *r*'s—as well as to what "the country expects."

In some towns, the duties of the constable included the collection of all taxes. As for this and other work he got no pay, and as he was held to account for the taxes that he failed to collect, as well as for those that he actually received, no one was likely to seek the office. It was a common town-meeting joke to elect some one who would rather pay his fine than to serve. Thus, at Braintree, in 1728, after two elections and declinations, "John Adams being by a majority of votes chosen, he declared his acceptance"—a manly performance of a public duty. In 1734, according to the record, "Mr. Josiah Quincy refused to serve and paid his fine down, being five pounds." "At a Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston legally qualify'd and Warned in Public Town Meeting Assembled at Faneuil-Hall on

Monday the 13th day of March A D 1758" (thus the record runs), it was voted "that there be twelve Constables chose for the Yeare ensuing, distinct from the Collectors of Taxes," and that "any person chose to Serve as a Constable be excused upon paying a Fine of Three Pounds." In the following year, the fine was increased to four pounds. Another touch of humor appears in the tendency to require the shooting of "six blackeburds and 3 Jaies" as the price of permission to take a wife, and to elect the young men married within the year to serve as field-drivers, with the duty of preventing wandering cattle from doing damage.

Among a people as jealous of their liberties as were the early settlers of New England, it was natural that their local assemblies reserved as much and delegated as little of the public business as was possible. For reasons already given, they handed over certain matters to the selectmen that they had chosen for that purpose. Thus, at Concord, in 1672, the selectmen were instructed to see "that ceare be taken of the bookes of marters & other bookes, that belong to the Towne, that they be kept from abeuce uesage, & not to be lent to any person more than one month at one time." In the record of "A Publick Town Meeting at the Town House in Boston on Tuesday September the 14th 1731," is the following: "Voted. That the afair of Repairing of the Wharff leading to the North Battrey be left with the Selectmen to do therein as they Judge best."

But we may be sure that at some subsequent town-meeting those selectmen gave a minute report of what they had done in the matter and answered every question asked concerning their action and their report. In town-meeting the inhabitants also chose deputies to the colonial general court; but they gave those deputies careful instructions as to the course they were to follow, freely voted censure if the instructions were disobeyed, and at the earliest opportunity retired to private life any deputy who for a moment forgot that public office is a public trust or that a public servant cannot be his own master. In a few cases, the town-meeting summarily ousted officers before the expiration of the terms for which they had been chosen — a foreshadowing of the imperial mandate later mentioned in this article.

Although no institution devised by men has been more generally approved than the one now under consideration, the decision of the New England town-meeting sometimes went awry. Ralph Waldo Emerson once said that "wrath and love came up to town-meeting in company," and that "if good counsel prevailed, the sneaking did not fail to be suggested, and virtue and freedom, if they triumphed, triumphed in a fair field." Charles Francis Adams, a descendant of the schoolmaster above mentioned, admits that the solutions worked out were often wrong, but adds that, none the less, "they were the best of which these people were capable, and so best for them.

Thus the town-meeting was the chief feature of local self-government in early New England. It was a pure democracy. Whether the tendencies that led to it had come down in the blood from Anglo-Saxon ancestors or not, the institution sprang from New England soil and was shaped by New England conditions, and therefore fitted the circumstances of time and place, and served well the needs of those who had developed it. Standing in this village "moot," each inhabitant recognized in himself an American sovereign, bore upon his own shoulders the salutary and strengthening strain of the public burden, and thus developed an inbred sense of the rights, responsibilities, and possibilities of American citizenship that, in later years, made no end of trouble for King George III of England.

Never was the town-meeting more truly the voice of the popular will than in the gathering storm that ended in the war of American independence. When Grenville's policy of taxation threatened the American colonies, the town-meeting protested; when the Stamp Act was repealed, it rejoiced; when further "taxation without representation" was attempted, it, in the hands of Samuel Adams, "the man of the town-meeting," became a powerful political engine for arousing, concentrating, and directing the spirit of resistance that characterized Boston and made Massachusetts foremost in opposition to parliamentary coercion.

In spite of the coming in of large numbers of Eu-

ropean and of Canadian-French immigrants to whom the institution is less congenial than it is to the descendants of the English pioneers, the town-meeting still holds an important place in New England life, especially in the smaller towns and villages. As late as 1892, Edward Everett Hale said that "it works just as well as it ever did, and is an absolutely successful object lesson in home government."

We have already seen that in the southern colonies the county was the political unit and that there was no popular local assembly for the discussion of public affairs. In Pennsylvania, the county was given a prominence greater than that of the town. But the Pennsylvania county had its democratic assembly, a shire-moot that was feebly comparable to the village-moot that the New England town-meeting was. Between these two systems, the town system at the north and the county system at the south, was the township-county system, a sort of compromise that was developed in New York after that province was wrested by the English from the Dutch in 1664. The province was divided into counties. The county was subdivided into townships. The inhabitants of each township elected certain local officials, including a supervisor. The supervisors of the several townships in a county met at stated times as a board of supervisors, the chief repository of authority for local affairs.

As the country west of the Allegheny Mountains was settled, the institutions of the original thirteen

colonies moved westward along lines that were practically parallel. The famous Ordinance of 1787 for the organization of the territory northwest of the Ohio River provided that "schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." When the public domain was surveyed, the lands were divided into townships each six miles square. In each township, one square mile was set aside for the benefit of public schools. Each township was made a body corporate and politic for school purposes. In many cases, the township was thus constituted before it had any inhabitants, and, when settlers came, they found the corner-stones of local self-government already set in place. These settlers clustered about the school-house as the New England pioneers did about the meeting-house, and their town-meetings had to do chiefly with school affairs. In three of the states carved from the old Northwest Territory, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois, and in others still farther west, the township-county system just described and the modified town-meeting have come into general use. In Ohio and Indiana, the territory was divided into counties and subdivided into townships, but the township had no town-meeting as it had in New England, and the county had no county-meeting as it had in Pennsylvania.

After the population of the town came to be counted by thousands, it often was impossible for the inhabitants to assemble in the purely democratic style of the founders of New England. If, in spite of

the new conditions due to increase of wealth and numbers, the attempt was made, serious mismanagement was very sure to follow. In most cases, municipal government took up the representative idea, and city councils or boards of aldermen exercised the powers that formerly pertained to the town-meeting. The individual no longer took a direct part in local government; he simply cast his vote for some one to act as agent for himself and his neighbors. Sometimes the representative thus chosen forgot that his power as a legislator was only a "power of attorney," and cast his vote without any consideration of the wishes of his constituents and sometimes in open opposition thereto. These abuses led to evils so colossal that much effort has been put forth to devise some adequate remedy, to find some way in which the voter, as an individual, may resume the sovereign powers that pertain to him as a citizen. One of the plans proposed for this purpose is the Swiss system, known as "direct legislation."

The initiative, as a part of the proposed system, provides that the people can initiate or begin legislation without waiting for the action of their legislature. In case a certain ordinance or law is desired, and the city council, or the state legislature, or the national congress, as the case may be, refuses or neglects to take the necessary action, the friends of the measure in question may circulate a petition requesting that such a regulation be submitted to a vote of the peo-

ple. The number of signatures required is a matter of detail, but when that number has been obtained and the petition properly filed with the designated official, the ordinance or law must be submitted to the people for their approval or rejection. No legislature or official has any option in the matter. If a majority of the voters vote for the measure thus submitted to them, it is thereby enacted into law. It does not have to go back to congress or president, to legislature or governor, to city council or mayor, for approval. The supreme power has decreed and the incident is closed.

The referendum, as a part of the proposed system, secures to the people the right and the power to veto any legislation enacted by their representatives. It recognizes the convenience and the practical necessity of the representative principle in the higher domains of political organization, and the fact that the great majority of all enactments are routine measures to which few or none have any objection, measures for which a representative body can be most conveniently employed. But if the legislature passes any law to which there is objection on the part of many, the objectors may petition for the referendum on such law. If within a prescribed period, such a petition, bearing the signatures of the required number of voters, is filed with the designated official, the law does not go into operation until it has been submitted to the people and has been approved by the votes of a majority of

them. If a majority of the people vote against it, it is thereby killed.

Still another possible part of the direct legislation system is the imperative mandate or the recall, under which, by petition, a vote may be taken upon the dismissal of a public official who has failed to give satisfaction to those who elected him. It is urged by the advocates of the direct legislation system that by it the people can secure the laws that they desire, protect themselves against legislation that has not their consent and approval, and regain for the individual the essentials of sovereignty and the safeguards of liberty which hitherto were his in the highest degree in the town-meeting.

SAMUEL ADAMS AND THE SONS
OF LIBERTY

BY HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE

AUTHOR, AND UNITED STATES SENATOR FOR MASSACHUSETTS

SAMUEL ADAMS AND THE SONS OF LIBERTY

THE British colonies on the Atlantic coast of North America were remote and little known in the eighteenth century. Frenchmen and Englishmen fought grimly in the forests, and the war offices of their respective countries knew of it, and fitted out expeditions and sent assistance to their fellow-countrymen in the distant West. When treaties were made, diplomatists wrangled over mountains and marked lines on maps of regions they had never seen. In time of peace sundry official persons were conscious that reports of provincial governors or other crown officers were gathering dust on the shelves of the colonial office or of the Board of Trade, and a group of merchants in London were well and profitably aware that there was a sturdy and increasing people beyond the Atlantic who bought their goods. But this was all. It is safe to say that there is hardly a corner of the world to-day so little known to the civilized world as the great American colonies of England were to Englishmen in the days of the First and Second Georges, and the American people were even less known than their country. Out of that vigorous population, prosperous, intelli-

gent, full of life and energy, only two names at that period reached the ears of England and of Europe with any sense of reality or any actual meaning. Wherever the doctrines of Calvin were cherished, the name of Jonathan Edwards was revered. Wherever the spirit of invention or of scientific research was stirring, — and it was a very vivid spirit at that time already opening the way for the great century which lay beyond, — the name of Franklin was known and admired as that of one of the memorable men of the time. Those who dealt with public affairs knew also that this pioneer in meteorology, this discoverer in the untrodden field of electricity, this ingenious inventor of practical things, was also a man of the world, an economist, a diplomatist, and a master of knowledge in regard to America and her colonies, whom English statesmen consulted with confidence and were proud to number among their friends. But there the list stopped, and all beyond was darkness.

As the century grew to its last quarter, however, certain American colonies and towns began to come out of the haze which covered the distant continent, and to assume very large and definite outlines as they acquired a somewhat painful familiarity in the minds of men. It now appeared that this distant and forgotten people were very real, after all. It became dimly visible that they were not all Indians or half-breeds or the descendants of convicts and redemptioners, but well-educated, hard-headed men,

extremely well versed in English history, of sound English, Scotch, Irish, and Huguenot stocks, acute lawyers and politicians, with very fixed ideas as to their own natural and constitutional rights. The first province to emerge clearly before the vision of England and of western Europe was the old Puritan colony of Massachusetts, and the first town to impress itself upon their minds was Boston, which seemed to lead and guide the colony. Whatever questions the generous emulation of later days may have raised as to the respective share of the original states in the Revolution, there was no contemporary doubt as to which colony began and pushed steadily forward the revolutionary movement. The statesmen and writers, the army of pamphleteers, the editors of newspapers, and the historians of England and France, all alike proclaimed Massachusetts as the head and front of the offending, and Boston as the head and front of Massachusetts. "This province began it, — I might say this town," wrote General Gage, in bitterness of soul; and when George Rogers Clark was conquering the West for the United States he found the British calling upon the French and the Indians to come out and "fight Boston." So long does an old tradition live that to this day the Indians in the northwest of the continent still describe the people of the United States as "Boston men," and the Canadians as "King George men." Thus the popular imagination, ever formed upon the simple and concrete,

depicted the two antagonists in the great conflict then breaking on the world as the town of Boston and King George of England.

So it came about that the events which for a few years made the little provincial capital the best known town in his Majesty's wide dominions added two names to the meagre list of Americans whose fame had crossed the Atlantic and whose deeds had given them meaning and reality. Many men took their lives in their hands when the Declaration of Independence was signed, but Samuel Adams and John Hancock could not by any act have made their own condition worse. They had been proscribed for years; they had been excepted by name from Gage's amnesty; and one of the objects of the somewhat famous march to Concord had been to seize their persons. For their special behoof a statute of Henry VIII had been drawn from its tomb; on their necks had rested the gleam of the axe, and across their pathway had fallen the shadow of the gallows. Whatever else others might say, they at least could not complain that they were ignored or neglected by England and her rulers.

John Hancock found himself in this distinguished position, which had led him to the presidency of the Congress and to the first signature on the Declaration of Independence, because it had suited his companion in proscription to make him his associate, and to use him for certain important purposes. But Samuel Adams was proscribed and famous solely by

his own acts and deeds. No one but himself had raised him to eminence. English ministers had sought for evidence to warrant his arrest for treason, they had tried to cajole him, they had laid wealth and pensions and places at his feet, they had failed to buy or intimidate, and finally they had proscribed him. They had named him "the arch rebel," "the chief incendiary," "the *instar omnium*," and they were troubled by no doubts when they did so. Men constantly err in their friends, but with the curious animal instinct which they have brought with them across uncounted centuries they are, as a rule, fairly correct in recognizing their most dangerous enemies. England regarded Samuel Adams as the beginner, leader, and organizer of the revolutionary movement which culminated in war and independence, and the Americans of that day agreed with her. It is a high position to assign to any man, for the American Revolution, momentous at the time, grows ever more momentous and more worthy of serious thought as the United States, which came from it, waxes more powerful, and, standing in the forefront of nations, looms larger and larger upon the vision of mankind.

Yet Samuel Adams really made for himself and actually filled the place which his own contemporaries and the voice of history, authorities, quite prone to differ, alike give him. His career is curiously simple, for his whole life was one of public service. Pleasure, professional success, money,

business, private tastes, society, all these and many other things which usually shoot their parti-colored threads across the web of even those lives most singly devoted to statecraft or war, to art or letters or science, find no place and shine out nowhere in the career of Samuel Adams. He came of the Braintree stock, founded at the beginning of the Puritan emigration by the sturdy farmer Henry Adams, who had two grandsons, Joseph and John. Joseph stayed by the ancestral farm in Braintree, and became the grandfather of John Adams, the first President, and the ancestor of his line of distinguished descendants. John, the brother of Joseph, left Braintree, took to the sea, settled in Boston, became the father of Samuel Adams the elder, who in due time married and had in his turn a son, Samuel Adams the younger, the second cousin of John, the "man of the Revolution," as Jefferson called him.

We may well stop here a moment to consider Samuel Adams the elder, for he was a man of distinction, and his success and his misfortunes, as well as his mind and character, had much influence upon his famous son. He had inherited a considerable property and increased it. He had a goodly house and garden. He was a leader in church and town affairs, went to the Assembly and became a leader there, heading the opposition to the royal governor. He was a politician and a manager of men in the more popular sense, organizing the men of

the shipyards into what was known as the "Caulkers' Club," which is believed to have given a word to the language, as well as a system to politics. He had also unluckily a speculative turn. As years passed, he grew less successful in business, became involved in the "Land Bank," a scheme for increasing the currency utterly unsound in principle, and going to wreck accordingly, so that Mr. Adams, when he came to die, transmitted a sadly impaired property to his children.

Thus we can understand the atmosphere in which the younger Samuel grew up. The strong impressions of boyhood, youth, and early manhood were of public service, active political organization, extending to the most popular forms and of steady and ingenious opposition to the governor, who represented the royal authority. Add to this that he saw his father's property shattered by the Land Bank, and instead of blaming the inherent unsoundness of this scheme, his hostility, as is so often the case, turned against the government and with personal bitterness against Thomas Hutchinson, the opponent of the Bank, who afterward rescued the province from the miseries of a depreciated and irredeemable paper currency.

That all these impressions should have sunk deep into his mind, conveyed as they were by his father's actions and career, was not only natural, but was enhanced by the fact that that father was in his words a "wise and good man," a victim of un-

merited reverses, and to him all that was most kind and affectionate. Born in 1722, a child in a happy, united household, his father gave him every opportunity and advantage which the town and province afforded, or which generosity could suggest. He went to the best public school. Thence he was sent to Harvard College and received a sound classical training, and there at Cambridge in 1743, whither he had returned to take his master's degree, he delivered a thesis before the assembled dignitaries of the province, entitled, "Whether it be lawful to resist the Supreme Magistrate, if the Commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved." It would be hard to find another case in which a college boy took for his theme a subject which was the text of his life-work, for the defence of his affirmative answer made that day at Cambridge as an academic exercise was to be carried on unrelentingly and without break until the resistance he advocated culminated at Philadelphia in the Declaration of Independence.

Thus equipped in education and opinion he went forth into the world. His father placed him in the counting-house of Thomas Cushing and then gave him a thousand pounds to start in business for himself. He had every advantage. He belonged to the aristocracy of his little town, he still had wealth in prospect, he had a father distinguished in public life and respected by all, and a fair business opportunity was laid open before him. Unluckily he cared

for none of these things. Half of the thousand pounds was lent to a friend and never came back. The other half he lost himself. Then he went into the operation of a brewery with his father. This ran on until his father's death in 1748. Then the brewery faded and failed, and Samuel Adams found himself with paternal house and garden on Purchase Street, a wife and family, no money, and no business. So he remained through life, entirely poor, absolutely regardless of money as well as indifferent to it, and living always straitly, but decently and honorably, on the petty stipend of his public employments. But although he was lost to worldly things, for which he did not care, he had what he valued far more,—his freedom, the untrammelled way to gratify the ruling passion of his nature open before him, and a steady growth of the power which he coveted. For in those years of financial decline he became gradually known as a strong and able writer on public questions. Men began to turn to him for advice, and he began to shape opinions. He took one office after another in the town, the scale gradually increasing. He found himself at the head of followers ever growing in number, and slowly but surely the mastery of the formidable instrument of the Boston town-meeting came into his hands. So passed away sixteen toilsome, hard-working years, and then he stepped forth into the light as a leader, never afterwards to lose his place.

His father died, as has been said, in 1748. In the

succeeding years, while he was struggling with poverty, and with the evil legacy of Land Bank claims, and slowly winning his place in the politics and business of the town, great world events had been following each other in rapid succession. War had come, convulsing Europe and America. Frederick had fought and beaten off banded Europe, and Pitt had raised England to the zenith of glory, one victory chasing close after another. In all this glory and in many of these victories, the American colonists had largely shared, and none had given more in men and money than Massachusetts. The colonists were filled with pride in the empire and with admiration for the "great commoner." In 1759 Quebec fell, and close behind this crowning victory, which gave North America to the English-speaking people, came the first attempt, born of ignorance and restlessness, to put colonial affairs in order. England thought it wise to undertake to enforce the Navigation Acts in despite of which American merchants had been wont to ship and carry on a lucrative and illegal trade. Writs were given authorizing the customs officers to search houses for smuggled goods; and James Otis thundered against these writs of assistance, on the theme that an Englishman's house is his castle, in a speech which still echoes in history, and through which John Adams declared the child Independence was born. It was a great speech. It was the first cry of warning to England, where it fell on deaf ears. It was the first note of resistance,

but there was nothing of independence in it, and no one was farther from that conception than James Otis. That far-reaching thought was to come from a stronger and more determined man than the brilliant orator, one who was even then fast working himself out from obscurity in the politics of Boston, although he had no gift of eloquence to aid him.

Meantime, events moved. George III came to the throne. Peace was to be made. Pitt fell from power, all largeness of view went with him, and George Grenville, worthy, well-informed busybody, decided that it would be a good thing to raise a revenue from America. So the Stamp Act was passed, and the American colonies burst into a flame of bitter opposition. A Congress was called, and mischief was afoot. The moment had come for Samuel Adams, and in 1764 he drafted certain instructions, very famous in their day, from the town of Boston to her representatives in the Legislature, setting forth the necessity and duty of resistance to taxation, and also containing what was far more fatal to England, an appeal for a union of all the colonies in what was of necessity a common cause. It is well to note this appeal for union, for it appears in the first of Samuel Adams's great state papers, and is repeated unceasingly by him from that day forward. Its importance lies in the fact that union of the colonies meant and could mean nothing but a mortal blow to English authority. Everything else was trivial compared to that purpose of union, and

Adams clung to it with a grim tenacity which nothing could move. In the following year, 1765, he is reported to have admitted to his friends in private that he wished for independence, and whether that date is exact or not, it is clear that he aimed at it long before any one else dreamed of it, and three years later he openly declared it. To that end he labored, to that ultimate object all his arguments tended. He stood alone in 1765. He still stood nearly alone ten years later, and was feared on account of what were thought to be his desperate opinions. But through all he never swerved, and he passed along his stormy course with the strength of the man who knows exactly what he wants and how he means to get it. To follow here that remarkable career, every detail of which had a meaning and influence upon the current of events, in anything except outline, is impossible. All that can be done is to enumerate the most important incidents and point out the great landmarks of the march of resistance to England, which culminated at last in war and independence.

In 1765 Samuel Adams was chosen to the Legislature. There he remained until there was a Congress, and there he became at once not only a leader, but the master spirit. He already led and controlled the town-meeting of Boston. Now he led all the towns of the province, and when the Legislature slackened or seemed to lose heart, he used the Boston town-meeting to spur it on. He signaled

his entry into the Legislature by carrying a series of resolutions which made much stir, in which he set forward the principles of resistance to taxation and boldly questioned the power of Parliament. When the repeal of the Stamp Act had caused a fervent outburst of loyalty, it was Samuel Adams who kept the spirit of resistance alive by his incessant writing in the newspapers, pointing out that though the obnoxious act had gone, the declaration of the right of Parliament to tax the colonies remained. He never lost heart or quieted down when public feeling ebbed, and it is but fair to say that England always came to his aid. Now it was the act to tax red and white lead, glass, paper, painters' colors, and tea. Adams met this new attempt with his scheme of non-importation agreements, and in 1768 with a far more dangerous weapon, a circular letter from the Massachusetts House to the other colonies, asking them to unite in resistance to this new taxation. Side by side with these large schemes covering the policy of the continent went on an unceasing controversy with the royal governors, first with Bernard, then with Hutchinson, the former an irascible, rather dull Englishman, the latter a very able and keen New Englander, to whom opposition was sharpened by the life-long personal enmity of the man who had suffered by the downfall of the Land Bank. This contest with the governors was never allowed to flag. Everything they desired was withheld, every proposition they advanced was com-

bated. Letters emanating from Samuel Adams went out constantly to the agents and to public men in England, setting forth the case of the colonies, assailing the governors and demanding their recall. This contest maintained the popular interest and ministered to the popular excitement, and there was always something on hand to serve the purpose of the man who waged it.

In 1766 it was the Billeting Act; in 1768 came the circular letter from the House to the other colonies, and the governor, acting under instructions, demanded it should be rescinded, which the House debated at length and would not do. Then came the British regiments, and a fierce discussion opened in regard to their presence in the town. This controversy had a bloody ending. The people bitterly resented the presence of the soldiers, and the leaders, headed by Adams, stimulated the popular hostility. Affrays were frequent. At last, on the evening of March 5, 1770, the inevitable happened. Some men and boys baited the soldiers, and the soldiers fired on the crowd. The young moon shining clear that night looked down upon the light snow in King Street, stained red now with the first blood of the Revolution. The ominous cries of "Town-born, turn out!" rang through the streets. The troops were brave and disciplined. They would have died hard, but numbers would have overwhelmed them. Hutchinson managed to restore quiet for the night. The next day there was a

town-meeting, presently grown so large that it adjourned to the Old South Church. Guided by Samuel Adams, they demanded the withdrawal of the troops from the town. Hutchinson refused. He had no authority. Then he would send away one regiment, but not both. All this was voted unsatisfactory by the meeting, now swelled by the country people who were pouring into Boston and crowding the streets. So the day wore away and darkness fell. For the last time the committee went to the Council Chamber with the cry of the town-meeting, Adams's own watchword, "Both regiments or none!" sounding behind them. Then Adams, plain of dress, simple in manner, stern and decisive in words, spoke in the Council Chamber to the representatives of royal authority. It was the most dramatic, the greatest moment perhaps of his life. He was only the man of the "town-meeting," and facing him were the governor and the judges, the council, and the colonels in their scarlet uniforms. But he was able to unchain the democratic force, destined soon to enter on a career which would shape the fate of two continents, and those whom he addressed dimly felt the presence of something new and strange. They hesitated and resisted. Then the council gave way, then the colonels, and at last Hutchinson. The regiments were withdrawn and passed out of Boston with the name of "Sam Adams" attached to them.

So the fire blazed up for a moment and then sank down; and then ensued one of those lulls, one of those moments of weariness and dejection in the popular movement which Adams dreaded more than all else. He met it in the newspapers with his articles. He fought it in the House with continued attacks on the removal to Cambridge. But the non-importation agreements were slackening. Men were growing weary. The House began to yield, and Hutchinson was a clever manager. He let them go back to Boston, and then Adams, alive to the danger, opened his new plan. He turned to the town-meeting, and started the scheme of committees of correspondence in all the towns. The Tories laughed, and made light of it; but the towns responded. Boston adopted Adams's declaration of rights, and the other towns answered to the call. The plan was a success after all. A new and more terrible weapon was now in the hands of Adams. Not the town of Boston alone, but all the towns of the province responded to his touch. Revolution was organized. Nothing remained but to extend it to the other provinces, and union, active and effective, was accomplished.

Again the ministry and the king came to his aid. All the duties were repealed except that on tea, and the East India Company, whose tea was piling up in their warehouses, thanks to the non-importation agreement, were relieved of the export duties, and thus urged to send tea to the colonies. Meantime,

the contest in the colony had been steadily advancing. The payment of the salaries by governor and judges had been decreed in England, and the House, under the lead of Adams, denounced it as a perilous assault upon the liberties of the people, as, indeed, it was. Then Hutchinson, in a very able message, asserted the power of Parliament to legislate in all ways for the colonies; and all the Tories, and, in fact, not a few of the patriots, felt that the argument was unanswerable. But it was really just what Adams wanted. Above all things, Adams desired to discuss the power and authority of Parliament, and now the governor had given him the chance to do it in a manner to attract the utmost possible attention. The reply of the House, drafted by Adams and carefully considered by the members, proved to be abler, keener, and more conclusive than the learned and ingenious argument of the governor. In the debate that opened the House scored, and public opinion was strongly turned against the crown. Adams's motto always was throughout the struggle, "Put your enemy in the wrong"; and with such an enemy as he was contending with this was not difficult. But it must have seemed to him, in 1773, as if his enemy was fairly delivered into his hands. Not only had Hutchinson given him opportunity to discuss the power of Parliament, but Virginia, in March, passed resolutions for Intercolonial Committees of Correspondence. Massachusetts had accepted the offer

with enthusiasm, and Adams's plan for organization and union was effected. The most mortal blow to English rule had been struck, although few knew it at the moment; and while America was thus engaged, England was passing the Tea Act. When the news reached America, Adams replied by starting the movement for a congress of all the colonies.

Events ever growing in importance were now treading close upon each other's heels. Presently came news that the tea ships had sailed; then that they were in the harbor. Boston, acting ever through the town-meeting, under the lead of Adams, would not suffer the tea to be landed. Every expedient was tried to avoid anything like violence, and to get the tea back to England. But the consignees faltered and resisted, and when they had been brought to terms, the officers of the customs and the governor opposed. So the days wore by until it was within a few hours of the time when, under the law, the fateful cargoes had to be landed. The town-meeting was in session at the Old South Church; they were waiting, as the short December day drew to a close, the result of a last attempt to obtain a permit from the governor to let the ships go to sea. At last the message of final refusal came. It was another dramatic moment in the career of Samuel Adams. Again he was the central figure, and again he had everything arranged, and knew exactly what he meant to do. The refusal of the governor was reported, and Adams arose and cried

out, "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country." As he uttered the words the Indian war-whoop was heard outside. There was a rush to the wharves, and in a few hours the harbor was black with tea. It was at last evident to all men that Massachusetts, and that America, would not pay taxes which they had not a part in imposing.

England responded quickly to the defiance conveyed by the destruction of the tea. A military governor in the person of Thomas Gage replaced Hutchinson, and brought more troops with him. The Port Bill closed Boston harbor, reduced her people to idleness, and made her a martyr and her cause the cause of all the colonies, a better bond of union than any Adams himself had devised. The charter was changed and the popular rights curtailed — another link in the union chain. Gage also had orders to arrest Adams and Hancock, but even with his army about him he feared to do it; for the menace of a new danger and a new force was in the air, and although the governor did not comprehend it he recoiled before it. Then Gage summoned the Legislature to meet at Salem, and when they were assembled, Adams amused the governor and his friends in the House by talk of conciliation, while he quickly gathered an unyielding majority to effect the masterstroke. When the majority was enrolled, when all was ready, suddenly and surely Adams moved. The doors were locked, and even while the governor's messenger with the message de-

manded admittance and beat upon the panels, the House chose delegates to the American Congress. Then the doors were broken open, and the last "Great and General Court" to be held under the crown was dissolved, and passed out into history. Its work was done.

In September Samuel Adams and his cousin John met with the other delegates in Philadelphia. In the remarkable body of men who then gathered in Carpenter's Hall, none except Franklin was so well known, none excited so much interest, as Samuel Adams, and none also was so much feared or regarded with so much suspicion. His ability, patriotism, and courage were recognized and admired, but he was thought to be a desperate man aiming at independence. His purpose certainly was independence, and a very clear, definite purpose it was, although he stood alone, and every one of his associates shrank from the very word. But he was anything but desperate. Never, indeed, did he appear greater and stronger than at this trying moment when all around him were suspicion and hostility. Those who reckoned on a violent incendiary did not understand that they were face to face with one of the most adroit managers of men known to history. Never so much as at this critical instant, with all his hopes trembling on the verge of fulfillment, were the tact, the self-control, the perfect calmness of the man so conspicuous. Great as a combatant, he was equally great as a conciliator. It

was he, the rigid Puritan, the hater of bishops, who moved that a clergyman of the Church of England should be asked to offer prayer. The preëminent man in the Revolutionary movement, he now sedulously kept himself in the background. He served on such committees as he was appointed to diligently, as was his wont, and took his share in the great state papers which emanated from the Congress; but it was all done so unobtrusively that the most delicate sensibilities could not be ruffled nor the most wakeful suspicion aroused. No doubt in private conversation he gently impressed his views upon others. It is certain that his plans carried out by others at home brought pressure upon the Congress in the shape of "Suffolk resolves," county congresses, and then a Provincial Congress, all pointing out to the other colonies the way to independent government. But in Philadelphia Samuel Adams sank into the background, leaving leadership to others and trusting to events and to outside influences which he himself in part, at least, set in motion, to carry them along what seemed to him both the inevitable and the righteous path.

From Philadelphia Adams returned to Massachusetts to join in the work of organizing the Provincial Congress, carrying on the work of the Committees of Correspondence, keeping the Boston town-meeting which Gage had prohibited alive by adjournments so that a new one need never be called, and in all ways preparing for the war which he knew to be near.

Events indeed moved now with great rapidity. Winter wore away, and when the spring came, Gage determined at last to arrest the two men whom he had proscribed. Warned in ample time, Hancock and Adams left Boston for Lexington, and thither Gage sent troops to seize them on the way to destroy the munitions of war at Concord. There in the fading darkness came Revere bearing news of the coming of the troops. Presently they saw the British infantry march up in ordered ranks; they heard Pitcairn's order; they heard the shots ring out, and then they slipped away from home and drove rapidly off to Woburn. As they passed along the quiet country road, the beautiful light of the April dawn flushing the skies above their heads, the Puritan reserve for one moment gave way to an overwhelming emotion, and Adams, looking upward, cried out even as Cromwell had cried out at Dunbar, "What a glorious morning is this!"

And so they passed on together to Philadelphia, received with acclaim along the road, for the news of Lexington and Concord had gone before them. The Revolution had begun, but there were still some months of conflict before the new Congress. There was also abundance of bitter opposition to Adams, but now events, as he had foreseen, were working invisibly on his side. Paine's famous pamphlet "Common Sense" had wrought a great change in opinion and had crystallized the popular will. Congress was compelled to authorize the states to

set up governments of their own. They were obliged to adopt the army before Boston and put Washington at the head of it. Virginia was now working side by side with Massachusetts, and the two great colonies were drawing the others with them. John Hancock, the proscribed, was made president of the Congress. No longer was it necessary for Samuel Adams to hold his hand or keep in the background. Now, with all his power of will, he was able to drive forward to the goal at which his whole life had aimed. In June, Richard Henry Lee, the close friend of Adams, introduced his famous resolution declaring for independence. There was a committee appointed, there was the pause and the deliberation for nearly a month so characteristic of the race, and then Jefferson reported the Declaration, and it was adopted, signed, and given to the world.

This was the great moment of Samuel Adams's life. For years he alone had foreseen this outcome and labored for it. For this he had faced proscription, suspicion, and bitter hostility. To few men is it given to win so great a victory, to behold so complete a triumph of all they held most dear. When Samuel Adams set his name to the Declaration, his great work on the stage of history was done. Not that his labors for his country and his beloved state ended then. On the contrary, for twenty-one years more he worked as hard, as unceasingly, as he had ever worked, and that meant all the time, and in a measure that few men had ever equalled.

He remained in Congress nearly to the end of the war, stayed there long after it had declined in character and importance, and the great men with whom he had begun had been almost wholly replaced by others sadly their inferiors in distinction and ability. He shirked no duty, he served on great committees, he labored in every way to sustain the war and the army of Washington. His zeal, intelligence, and energy slackened no jot in all those toilsome years or in the darkest hours. Never for a moment did his faith and courage fail. In the intervals at home he labored just as hard at the work in Massachusetts. He served as Secretary of State, the executive officer of the Executive Council, and guided the Provincial Congress, spurring the state on to rendering that full share of men and money to the common cause which stands as one of the glories of the commonwealth. He had a leading part in preparing the Articles of Confederation and in framing the constitution of 1780 for Massachusetts, under which the state is still governed. When the state government was formed, he became a member of the state senate, then for a series of years its presiding officer, then lieutenant-governor, and finally, after the death of Hancock, he was for three years governor, the office with which beyond all others he would have preferred to crown his career. In 1797 he retired from public life, and six years later, just after he had passed his eighty-first birthday, he died honored and mourned by the people of

Massachusetts whom he loved so well and served so long.

His career after 1776 was one filled with unremitting labor crowned with high distinction, furnishing in itself a career to gratify an eager ambition. Yet is it nevertheless true that the work of Samuel Adams in the largest sense ended on the 4th of July, 1776. All that came after was secondary and slight compared to what had gone before. His work after 1776 might have been done by others. His work before 1776, whether any other man could have performed it or not, was, as a matter of fact, performed by him alone, and it not only exhibited high qualities of mind and character, but it brought lasting results which entitle him to be reckoned among the greatest public men of whom the history of the United States makes record. Without exaggeration, it may be said also that what he accomplished and the abilities which he displayed give him a sure place among the very great and important men of his age, whether at home or abroad. The ten years, moreover, preceding 1776 showed nothing but success, won with an efficiency and freedom from error rarely to meet with. The twenty years after, on the other hand, made apparent that he was not fitted for the great work of that time which the new conditions demanded, as he had been for the equally important but widely different work which alone had made the new conditions and the new problems possible.

Samuel Adams was, as he was so often called, the

“man of the Revolution.” His work in life was to organize revolution and separate the colonies from England. But although a great organizer, he was not a man of constructive power. Outside of Massachusetts, where he understood the people, the community, and the modes of government, he could pull down, but he could not build up. Within the commonwealth, he could play a leading part in making the constitution of 1780 one of the best written constitutions ever framed, because that merely involved a transfer of the powers and methods of government exercised under the province form to the people of the state. Outside Massachusetts, when the problem was to make a nation out of thirteen jarring states, Adams failed, for there he was on new ground, filled with unreasoning suspicions of external authority which he had always resisted, and unable to see that there was an absolute distinction between the rule of the English crown and that of a government formed by the people of the thirteen states themselves. At Philadelphia, his jealousy of a standing army led him to oppose half pay to officers on retirement. At Philadelphia he took a conspicuous share in framing the Articles of Confederation, and was unable to see not merely that they would not work, but that they were so fundamentally wrong in conception and principle that they were doomed to failure. He had no liking for the Constitution of 1787, and no sympathy with the movement which produced it.

He was finally brought to its support by the pressure of his friends, and his support was most essential; but he neither understood it nor believed in it. He was by nature eminently conservative in the great underlying principles of law and order. No one was more stern than he in measures to repress and punish the Shays Rebellion, for, revolutionist as he was, he hated chaos and loved order of a pretty rigid kind. Yet he opposed Washington's administration on all its great policies in a manner which demonstrated that he had actually failed to comprehend that the national government was the only measure by which the states and people of America had been rescued from a hopeless and widespread anarchy, of which the Shays Rebellion, which he had helped to crush, was but a single manifestation.

It is very seldom that we find in the same man the power to pull down combined with an equal ability to build up. The men who made the Constitution, although all supporters of the Revolution, were not the men who planned the struggle and brought on the war. Washington is a rare example of the man, who, having led in the destruction of one political system, is then able to exhibit an even greater capacity in constructing a new one on the ruins of the old. Yet even Washington had no important part in preparing revolution. When he entered upon his great task at Cambridge, that of Samuel Adams was done. So it is that when we

turn from the period of construction to the period when revolution was engendered and made inevitable, we find that there is no one who approaches Samuel Adams in effectiveness or capacity as a statesman and leader of men.

He was a Puritan by descent and a Puritan himself. Robust and vigorous, physically and mentally, his gray eyes and strongly cut features look out at us from Copley's picture with a prevailing sense of overwhelming force, which time cannot dim nor fading colors lessen. He was deeply religious, and the Puritan hatred of Roman papacy and British episcopacy burned hot within him. He had no care for material things. He lived in respectable poverty all his days, and longed for nothing more. The best education possible to the time and place was given him, and made him a good classical scholar and an especial lover of Latin. Everything that bore upon politics or history, the philosophy or science of government, or the rights of men, he had read and pondered and knew with an exactness which made his learning as ready in use as it was thorough in possession. He was a man of pure life, beloved in his household, cheerful and agreeable in company, and with a power of attaching young men to him, which shows that his nature was neither austere nor ungenial. But his most remarkable quality was an utter absence of egotism, so complete, indeed, that it kept him long from his true place in history, and has made it most difficult

to know him. In all his published writings he was absolutely impersonal, and in his private letters he never talks of himself. Even when he is assailed by jealousies and attacked with injustice, he puts it all aside as indifferent and of no consequence. Not that he was a forgiving man; he was disposed to be relentless, and Dr. Johnson would have found him a good hater, but his own personality never figured in his enmity. In most strong men, the personal equation is very large. It was so in the Adams family, and John Adams always looks at every event first as it touches him, so that his writings, while they brim over with egotism, have also the intensely human note which ever appeals to human sympathies. Samuel Adams was a very strong man indeed, but this personal note is lacking, not only in his own writings, but in all that his contemporaries wrote about him. They describe and criticise and praise him, but they never tell us that he ever said anything about himself. He had in truth to the full the old Puritan temperament, which in the days of Charles made the casters down of church and throne lose sight of everything but their religion, and in the days of George III made Samuel Adams forget everything, including himself, in his mission, as he conceived it, of separating America from England.

With a patience that nothing could weary, he carried on his opposition to the royal governors. He got possession of Boston, he got possession of

the province and the Legislature. He wove bonds of connection with the leading men in England and in all the colonies. He organized Boston, then the Legislature, then all the towns, and then came the continent. He argued his case on every point, in state papers, in resolutions, in declarations, in countless articles in the newspapers, in innumerable letters to correspondents everywhere. No question was too large for his grasp, no detail too small to be overlooked. Hutchinson noted that as the controversy progressed, Adams changed even his formal phrases, and every change pointed toward popular rights and independence. His whole life was given to the work, and his industry and capacity for labor seem almost superhuman. His light burning far into the night was a familiar sight in the little town, and people used to say when they saw it, "There is Sam Adams writing against the Tories." He was no orator, and his style in writing was plain and unornamented to the last degree, but he spoke with a force, clearness, and mastery, and wrote with a skill and strength, which carried conviction captive.

Greatest he was, perhaps, as a manager of men where two or three were gathered together. He passed hours on the wharves, in the shipyards or the shops, and the shipwrights and sailors and mechanics of Boston followed him implicitly and moved at his word. Galloway, the Pennsylvania Tory, says that Adams controlled the mob in Philadelphia, although he had never seen Phila-

delphia until Congress met there in 1774. How he did it, no man knew then or knows now, but the mere charge is a tribute to his singular power over the mass of the people, for he was no demagogue and never had any of the arts of one.

He watched also for all the young men of promise, yoked them to his cause, and made them not only his followers, but his devoted friends, as they appeared in turn upon the stage of action. He it was who captured Hancock, the rich, vain, generous, difficult, not over-intelligent aristocrat, for the popular side. The Warrens, Church, Quincy, John Adams himself, were all brought forward by him. Yet for himself he always took a second place. He was never speaker, only clerk, of the House which he ruled. He was rarely first on the great committees, although in the hour of trial the post of danger and of leadership was always his. So much power and so much self-effacement are seldom found together, but the combination displays that marvellous tact which was never at fault, and that ability to manage men which in politics and history is not easy to equal.

Thus he gradually, step by step, led the resistance to England forward. No threats or perils could move that iron courage, no bribes of place or power or money could touch that stern integrity. It was a continual advance. Even in moments of fatigue, when the popular feeling was lulled, he was still pressing forward, still writing, still arguing, still

moving the minds of men. In this way he made a public opinion which became irresistible, and which astounded his opponents when the moment came to call it forth. No crisis ever found him surprised. He was always prepared, and met every ordeal victoriously.

He stands out in history not only as the organizer of revolution and the teacher who made revolution possible, but as the first man who understood and wielded the force of the people — the great democratic force which then entered upon its career and which was destined to change the entire political form of Western civilization. This was a very great part to play in the world's history, and it puts Samuel Adams among the few leaders of men who in the days of Louis XV and George III made possible the events of the nineteenth century and opened the way for the rise of the United States.

LAFAYETTE AND THE FRENCH ALLIANCE

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LAFAYETTE AND THE FRENCH ALLIANCE

WHEN the French writer, Thiers, in his "History of the Consulate and Empire of Napoleon," reaches his account of the Louisiana Purchase, he says, "The United States are indebted for their existence and also for their greatness to the long struggle between France and England." We can well afford, great and powerful as we are to-day, to be less self-assertive than we have sometimes been, and to recognize fairly that we have grown into such might not entirely through our own striving. It is only simple justice to admit that we have been much helped by others, and that among our helpers France has been one of the foremost. That the doubling of the area of the United States in 1803 by the gaining of the vast territory west of the Mississippi was brought about by Napoleon's statesmanship, Jefferson and his negotiators playing in the matter but a secondary part, the present writer has heretofore tried to show.¹ The task now is to show that the other claim of Thiers is also just, and that the United States owes its birth as well to France, that

¹ "History of the Louisiana Purchase," Appleton, 1902.

power at the moment being impelled by a crisis in her long struggle with England. It was, indeed, the case that, so far as human judgment can estimate, we never should have got through the Revolution but for the help from France.

It is a long story, and to make it clear we must go back to the beginning of the European establishments in North America. France was as early upon the ground as any one, after Columbus had broken the path. In that day, just as at present, France felt that her prosperity, her very existence even, depended upon her possessing great colonies. Therefore, while Spain was seizing upon empires, and England was on the alert to grasp, France was not less active. In the century from 1502 to 1603 eighteen distinct efforts by France to gain a foothold upon North America can be traced. Her sons, full of the spirit of adventure, of vivid imagination which saw always high and alluring visions of dominion, intrepid and devotedly loyal, were peerless as explorers. Jacques Cartier penetrating, in 1534, to the present site of Montreal; Champlain founding Quebec in 1603, and dashing thence into the remote fastnesses of the Iroquois; La Salle discovering the Ohio, sailing down the Mississippi, in 1682 planting his banner in token that Louis XIV took possession of the great interior of the continent; the family of La Vérendrye, father and sons, establishing themselves in far Manitoba, and piercing the wilderness thence, in 1742, to the Rocky

Mountains a generation before Lewis and Clark were born, — these heroes are the conspicuous types of the brilliant sons of France, who, with such address and gallantry, sought to fix within their country's grasp the empire of the New World.

And how nearly they succeeded! About the middle of the eighteenth century came a series of French successes, — the defeat of Braddock before Fort Duquesne, the crowding of the English from Lake Ontario, the victories at Fort William Henry and Ticonderoga, — seemed for the moment to have quite prostrated her rival, and almost to put the Thirteen Colonies at the mercy of the French. But all was lost at Quebec in 1759. When Montcalm fell before Wolfe, it was the *coup de grâce* for France. Canada passed at once to the victor; soon after, the cession of Louisiana to Spain gave up all that remained. It came back for a moment, only to be ceded again at once to the United States. Henceforth St. Pierre and Miquelon, dots of rock in the surf beating upon Newfoundland, have been all that remained of the empire that promised so magnificently. Nor was it in America alone that France was obliged to yield to England. In the East Indies the course of things had been similar. There, too, brilliant adventurers, a type of whom is Dupleix, had explored and subdued until the pillars of a splendid empire seemed on the point of being permanently placed; but here, too, came disappointment. Folly and indifference at home, jealousies

among the champions themselves, the swords of the English, brought ruin in the East as well as in the West; and as the third quarter of the eighteenth century closed France had reached a deep humiliation.

Sore was the suffering of France, for her pride was unbroken. It was only natural that when the Thirteen Colonies rose in revolt against England, her rival should rejoice, and seek in her foe's misfortunes her own opportunity. Louis XVI was too weak for the occasion, but Vergennes, his able and energetic minister, was the man for the hour. It was necessary to proceed cautiously. France lay prostrate; more, it must be said, through her own vices and follies than through the weapons of her enemies, and a conflict must not be entered into rashly. The help of Spain must be gained if possible, and a favorable moment be sought for the attack. It was very embarrassing, therefore, when, in 1776, a mere boy, but who happened to be a noble of highest rank, became possessed with enthusiasm for the cause of the Americans, and insisted on throwing himself into the contest at once. Such a recruit to the cause of America would certainly attract attention, and watchful England would be certain to attach significance to the incident. Gilbert Motier, Marquis de Lafayette, was born September 6, 1757, in Auvergne, and if ever babe had a silver spoon in his mouth, it was he. His ancestors, since Crécy and Poitiers, four centuries before,

had been fighters of the English, his father, the last, being killed at the battle of Minden, facing the ancient foe. When still a lad, he lost also his mother, and the young orphan, bearing one of the proudest of names, came into the possession of a handsome estate. He early manifested extraordinary spirit, setting out to do man's work while still beardless. He married at seventeen the daughter of a duke, thereby adding much to his fortune and position. A primrose path seemed to open before him to the highest places, but he was full of daring, disposed to court hardship rather than pleasure, and alive with generous sympathies. In those days, when the French Revolution was already in the air, a philosophy was much in vogue, even among the higher classes, which, in dilettante fashion, extolled "a state of nature" and condemned pomp and luxury. Its professors, however, were far from taking up the simple democratic life they amateurishly admired. This style of thought, of which Rousseau was the especial prophet, does not appear to have attracted the young Lafayette. His heart, however, was frank and natural. He entered on the only career open then to a noble, — that of a soldier; and when, in 1775, at Metz, he heard the Duke of Gloucester, brother of George III, who was passing through on a journey, tell to a group of officers, of whom he was one, the story of the revolt of America, he became straightway fixed. A deep interest sprang up in his breast for a people struggling against op-

pression, an interest greatly stimulated from the fact that the oppressor was the hereditary foe, the foe of France, and the one which he personally had so much cause for hating. Not the entreaties of his friends, not the dissuasions of the minister, not even the command of the king, could hold him back. He secretly chartered and freighted a ship, and with several companions, the most distinguished among whom was the Baron de Kalb, a German officer who had been some time in French service, he hurried to the coast. The government, in wrath, sought to arrest him, and there is a picturesque story of his assuming the disguise of a postboy and escaping his pursuers by the friendliness of an inn-keeper's daughter, who gave a wrong direction. He escaped seizure, and the government, fearing all sorts of complications from the premature action of a youth so prominent, heard at last with alarm that he had embarked.

In due time, *La Victoire*, the ship, brought her charge to the coast of South Carolina, where in a harbor little frequented her passengers landed. Lafayette, making his way into the country with the help of negro guides, reached fortunately at last the house of a good patriot, Major Huger, who, being himself of French descent, was perhaps, on that account, more ready to show kindness to the strangers. To one so high born and on such an errand, the colonial society was, of course, obsequious, but Lafayette allowed himself to be detained

by no courtesies. He made his way as rapidly as he could to Philadelphia, and there presented himself and his friends to Congress, asking for commissions. His reception was not altogether cordial. Congress was beset by adventurers from many countries, an *outré*, be-whiskered, often unintelligible lot, who, loose of foot for reasons more or less creditable, making claims to all sorts of skill and experience, were entirely ready to show the simple Americans how to manage the war. When among these petitioners appeared the slender stripling, pale from his voyage, of unimpressive stature, his voice scarcely beyond a childish treble, no wonder Congress hesitated. But his rank was illustrious; his sacrifices were already great; the freight of *La Victoire* was important. Moreover, De Kalb was of gigantic frame and had a record that commanded respect. The newcomers were at last in a measure gratified, Lafayette receiving the honorary title of major-general on Washington's staff. De Kalb also was cared for, the rest finding places more gradually. Washington received the marquis graciously. His zeal was apparent, but who could answer for his prudence and courage? But he won his way from the first, a lifelong friendship beginning then and there,—one of the memorable friendships of history, ennobling still more the noble spirits that entertained it, and fruitful to the world of good which cannot be measured.

So far the war had proceeded with small measure

of good fortune to the Americans. Lexington and Bunker Hill were now two years behind. The British had been driven out of Boston by the threat from Dorchester Heights, the Declaration of Independence had come, followed at once by the disastrous battle of Long Island. The preceding Christmas the Hessians had been captured at Trenton. But the early enthusiasm had to a large extent waned; Congress was inefficient; the states were jarring; the fitness of Washington for the leadership was by no means justified as yet by results. Sir William Howe, the British commander, forsaking New York, had sailed with his army for Delaware Bay, and now in June was advancing upon Philadelphia. Washington met him at the Brandywine. Hearing that Howe had divided his army, he took prompt measures to attack the enemy while thus weakened. As the stroke was about to be delivered, Sullivan, commanding the right wing, sent word that the intelligence had been false. It had as a fact been true, but Washington's arm had been paralyzed as he was about to strike. A calamitous defeat was the result, the American army making its way off as it could. In the forefront of danger on this day was the fiery French boy, not yet twenty years old, fighting to stem the British advance and to rally the fugitives. He received a wound in the leg which he did not notice till the blood poured out of his boot, fighting on in spite of it until his strength gave way. He established that day a reputation

for courage. Retiring for a time to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where he was cared for by the Moravians, he returned to duty in the fall of 1777, to learn that the British had captured Philadelphia, and that there had been another defeat at Germantown.

But Lafayette was not inferior in steadfastness even to Washington; he was not dismayed by the accumulating misfortunes. The news that came at last from the north of the surrender of Burgoyne on October 17 was to the Americans of the highest importance in more ways than one. It helped much the *morale* of the less fortunate army farther south, and Lafayette was the first to make this evident. At Gloucester, opposite Philadelphia, he harassed with three hundred men Cornwallis, detached on an enterprise. He avoided a battle in which he must necessarily have been crushed, but showed that his head was cool, and that he could manœuvre ably in the face of danger. An unfortunate sequence of Saratoga was the Conway Cabal. The greatness of Washington was recognized but slowly; and it was not at all strange that at the end of 1777 much doubt was felt both in Congress and in the army as to whether or not he was the leader for the hour. The successes to which he could point were small indeed as compared with the capture of a great British army. Howe had defeated him in several pitched battles, at last driving Congress from its seat. It was natural that the eyes of many should

turn to the man who was believed to have won the day at Saratoga. Gates had that credit though not deserving it, and the escape was narrow for America. Through this difficult time Lafayette bore himself with an almost precocious discretion. Far from being dazzled by what had been done at the North, or dismayed by the misfortunes about New York and on the Delaware, he clung to Washington, recognizing with keen discrimination his heroic quality. It was a spirited thing for a boy to do, when at Gates's headquarters at York, surrounded by the conspirators who were trying in every way to win him, he rebuked and abashed them by proposing a toast to "Washington, the *Commander-in-chief*."

An attack upon Canada, projected for the winter of 1777-1778, which Lafayette was to lead, his character as a French noble being relied upon to make impression upon the *habitans* supposed to be yearning for their old allegiance, was given up for want of resources. But the hands of the struggling Americans were about to be powerfully strengthened. France had at last found the propitious moment for interfering. The hesitation which had prevailed from the outset gave way to a decision. In throwing herself into the strife, the old monarchy had really small interest in the welfare of America: she had a fierce hope of achieving vengeance for the humiliations she had suffered at the hands of England. The treaty of alliance was signed February 6, 1778,

and at once money, ships, and men were lavishly contributed to the impoverished and disheartened states. On April 15 twelve sail of the line and fourteen frigates, bearing besides their crews many soldiers, put to sea from Toulon.

Now steps upon the scene another great noble of France, a kinsman of Lafayette, inferior to him in interest, but a chivalrous gentleman and a brave though unfortunate champion. The Count d'Estaing was a lieutenant-general in the army, who however had commanded at sea successfully in the far East against the English, though captured at last and immured for a time in an English prison. Misfortune now attended him from the start. His captains were sullen at serving under a landsman. More than a month elapsed before the fleet, putting out from Toulon, baffled by unfavorable winds, could pass the straits of Gibraltar. When at last they were fairly on the ocean, the ships were signalled to break open their sealed orders, for as yet no one but the commander knew their destination. It was regarded as the first open declaration of war, and the occasion was impressively solemnized. On the flag-ship, the *Languedoc*, high mass was held, D'Estaing and Gérard de Rayneval, the envoy to the United States, kneeling in front of the ship's company, the sailors at the end of the ceremony shouting enthusiastically "*Vive le Roi!*" Thus the enterprises destined to secure independence to one of the most Protestant and most democratic of

nations were inaugurated by a Roman Catholic ceremony and acclamations to an absolute king.

A tedious voyage brought them to the capes of the Delaware, where D'Esaing had hoped to take the British at Philadelphia at a disadvantage. Had the arrival been a week or two sooner, it might have been done; but a few days before Sir Henry Clinton, the successor of Sir William Howe, had taken himself out of the way. The British had occupied the city during the winter and spring, Washington meantime maintaining his desolate camp at Valley Forge. During the spring, Lafayette had found still another opportunity to show of what he was made. As he reconnoitred boldly toward the city, it was felt by his foes that his capture was certain; and it is said that invitations were issued for an entertainment at which the attraction was to be the French marquis, caught on the outposts. But he eluded the grenadiers skilfully, again as at Gloucester making it plain that he was discreet as well as brave. So thoroughly had he established himself now in the good opinion of Washington, that when at the end of June, 1778, Clinton broke out from Philadelphia for New York, encumbered by a vast baggage train which it required half his army to guard, Lafayette was selected to play an important part in the operation which Washington projected. He was given command of the division in advance, which was to strike the British column first as it toiled on with its encumbrances,—a post of honor in which, had he remained

in it, he might have brought to pass a fortunate result. But at this juncture came in that worst of marplots, General Charles Lee, the mercenary and probable traitor, who had been made second in command. Although Lee, using the eloquence he possessed, had at a previous council of war denounced the plan of attack, quite demoralizing many of the officers who were to take part in it, yet when the plan was decided upon he claimed the right to lead the advance, and Lafayette was displaced. Of the many painful pages in our Revolutionary history there is none more painful than the record of his work that day, — deliberate neglect of a fine opportunity, a needless retreat degenerating into a rout, his cowering at last beneath the righteous outburst of wrath from Washington as the fugitives came pouring back. What might have been the noble victory of Monmouth came wretchedly short, a disaster to some extent redeemed by the steadfastness with which the main body refused to be driven. Of those who averted utter defeat, Lafayette was among the foremost. Clinton marched henceforward undisturbed to New York, while Washington, keeping at a safe distance, took up a position north of that city.

D'Estaing reached Delaware Bay just after this melancholy incident. Finding the seat of war removed, he set ashore M. Gérard de Rayneval, who was straightway received by Congress with great cordiality and ceremony. John Hancock, president of

Congress, was in his element among the obeisances and decorations ; while Samuel Adams, Puritan and Democrat, laid aside his prejudices to do honor to the Catholic and Royalist. D'Estaing, full of zeal to accomplish something, steered for Sandy Hook, where, after great difficulties, he put himself into communication with Washington, between whom and the French lay the British army. The long three months' voyage had brought about scarcity of provisions and sickness. Pilots, too, were indispensable. The French admiral showed great energy in pushing his way, but his ill-luck followed him. It was found that his stately three-deckers drew too much water to cross the bar, and could only threaten impotently from the offing. Half a fathom more of water and the destruction of Clinton might have been achieved, for he had no ships on that day with which to match the French.

The baffled admiral turned away after concerting with Washington a new movement. At Newport lay a British army of six thousand men supported by a small fleet. Might not something be done there? In the freshness of the new situation both parties to the alliance acted with vigor. Sullivan commanded for the Americans, and was expected to raise a large body of militia in New England. Washington detached from his side General Greene ; while two thousand Continentals, under Lafayette, marched from White Plains across Connecticut with all possible alacrity. There was no delay on the part of

D'Estaing. As soon as wind and tide could carry them, the twelve great seventy-fours and the frigates lay off the entrance to Newport with broadsides ready. Sullivan, however, making his way out to the *Languedoc*, the flag-ship, begged for delay. His army was, so to speak, still in the air. In the inchoate nation affairs were but loosely managed. The state governments were slack, nor had they, indeed, settled and well-defined authority to compel. The enthusiasm of Lexington and Bunker Hill had long since subsided, and the farmers responded slowly to the call for men. Nevertheless, had the allies acted at once, a fine success would probably have been gained. Sullivan's few battalions, reënforced by Lafayette's detachment, with Greene among the leaders, made a formidable force. D'Estaing could set on shore some thousands of soldiers and sailors. To save time was imperative, for the English fleet might any day be largely reënforced and come to the rescue. D'Estaing, perhaps over-courteous, put aside his own judgment, which was to proceed at once, to gratify Sullivan, who thought a few days would make no difference.

D'Estaing was possibly a better gentleman than general, for the delay proved fatal. Pigott, the British commander, determined and skilful, in the respite essentially strengthened his position. Moreover, a rift of discord between the two sides, existing at the first, soon widened into a serious breach. It ran counter to all previous French experience to be

in accord with English-speaking men ; on the other hand, from the foundation of the colonies, to fight the French had been the constant need in America. Lafayette, who, while remaining a Frenchman, was fast becoming a thorough American also, went back and forth between ships and shore, to explain and reconcile as he could. He had at first had doubts as to how D'Estaing and the fleet would receive him. He had left France, the object of the king's displeasure. All that, however, was now overlooked ; he was the hero who had had courage to lead, and D'Estaing, his kinsman, treated him with fatherly kindness. The Americans, on the other hand, Lafayette was winning from Washington down. He was always in the forefront, fighting bravely and ably, and bore honorable scars. But even his earnest efforts seemed likely at last to come to naught. An attack had been agreed upon for the 10th of August : the Americans from the mainland and the French from the ships to land upon the island on which Newport stands at the same time. An opportunity arriving before the time fixed, Sullivan thought it not worth while to wait and set his troops across the strait. A fierce wrath flamed forth at once in the fleet. The honor of France had been insulted ; the punctilious chevaliers were full of rage and the ships resounded with imprecations. But D'Estaing showed great forbearance. He restrained his officers and crews, and on the 10th of August proceeded to carry out the agreement. The French ships dashed past

the British batteries into the harbor channels; the British flotilla was burned or blown up to avoid capture. D'Estaing's men were actually landed — a force which could not have been resisted; an earlier Yorktown seemed on the point of being achieved.

But this hopeful initiative had a most dramatic interruption. Suddenly the curtain of fog which for some time had hidden the view to seaward was lifted, and, lo! in the offing appeared the largely reinforced British fleet. The lookouts from the mastheads could make out a formidable array, and nothing could be done but make instant preparations to meet the danger. To receive Lord Howe's attack while embarrassed in the harbor, with the men, to a large extent, on shore, would mean destruction. The crews and troops were reëmbarked in all haste. The admiral sent a hasty message to Sullivan, promising to return when the outside danger had been disposed of; then, with the northerly breeze blowing fresh, dashing once more past the British batteries, he swept out to meet the enemy. The French advance was full of gallant vigor, and at first all promised well. They had the weather-gage, and Howe, taken at disadvantage, crowded sail for New York. His pursuers overtook him; already prizes were being made. But at the most inopportune moment the winds and waves arose. A storm of extraordinary fury burst upon both fleets. Nothing was to be thought of but to save

the ships from instant wreck. Under cover of the tempest, shattered by the gale, but uncrushed by the cannon, Howe made his way to port, while the French fleet lay on the ocean badly crippled. The *Languedoc*, having lost her rudder and all her masts, floated on the water a helpless hulk. In this condition she was assailed by a saucy English frigate, the *Renown*, which, though much inferior in force, was able to assume a raking position, and swept with her broadsides the great three-decker from stem to stern. The admiral could do nothing but endure without returning the fire, and was in imminent danger of capture. But his antagonist withdrew without pressing the advantage. Other French ships suffered scarcely less. The opportunity was lost, and clamor was loud in the fleet to proceed at once to Boston to refit, the instructions of D'Estaing indicating that port as one to which he should go in case of need. There is something fine in the scrupulous way in which D'Estaing insisted on keeping his promise to Sullivan. Though his fleet was crippled, though his captains all opposed, and though he had reason himself to feel he had been treated by the American commander with scant courtesy, he insisted honorably upon going to Newport as he had agreed. Sullivan in the incident appears to much less advantage. When D'Estaing explained his condition and announced that he was compelled to go to Boston, where alone it was possible to refit, the American refused to appreciate the situation,

and received in anger the announcement of the French fleet's departure. The bad feeling became so acute that a rupture of the alliance seemed imminent. Lafayette as intermediary was as uncomfortably placed as if he were between two scissor blades. He stoutly championed the French in the camp of Sullivan, and the Americans on the deck of the *Languedoc*. He pressed the irate Sullivan so warmly that it nearly came to a duel. In the end, he was despatched to Boston to make a last attempt to bring D'Estaing back. The effort was vain ; he galloped back over the seventy miles in six hours and a half, arriving just in time to bring off the rear-guard from the island. The British were attacking vigorously, for Lord Howe by this time had returned with more ships. The enterprise was a failure, and both Americans and French were lucky to get away, the latter sailing in the fall of 1778 for the West Indies.

That Lafayette in hot-headed fashion challenged the Earl of Carlisle to fight a duel was natural enough and accorded with the standards of those days. Lord Carlisle, as head of a commission appointed by the English ministry to offer Americans concessions and invite a return to their old allegiance, had, as the spirited youth thought, traduced France in his manifestoes. But Lord Carlisle put aside the challenge, while both Washington and D'Estaing besought Lafayette to run no such risk. As 1779 began, his thoughts turned homeward lovingly. It

was indeed the case that thus far in his career his deserts as a champion of liberty were more marked than as a husband and father. Six months after the event he had heard of the birth of a daughter ; only after a similar delay did word reach him of the death of still another. One is glad that he had thought of his faithful and patient wife and his household ; and that in February he embarked in the frigate *Alliance*, which Congress commissioned to convey him to his far-away home. On sea the dangers were no less than on land. Aside from the peril from English cruisers, mutiny broke out in the crew, a revolt which was put down with difficulty, the ship reaching port with many men in irons.

Arrived in Paris, Lafayette received on all sides a cordial welcome. He had gone away under displeasure, and to save appearances the king condemned him to a week's seclusion in the house of his wife's father. He came forth a popular hero, commended at court also as well as in the streets. But, unaffected by plaudits and blandishments, he pushed with energy the cause to which he was devoted. He urged the ministry to make the alliance more effective. More ships, more men, more money, a sterner pressure upon England, — these were his themes ; and his forcefulness, backed by his rank, caused him to be listened to. It might easily have turned so that he should have been with Paul Jones and the *Bon Homme Richard*. His frigate, the *Alliance*, was with Paul Jones, though

through being badly commanded it played an ignoble part in the great battle. He was ready to play a part in the landing of an army upon the shores of England, but his heart was especially in America. He magnified her virtues and minimized her faults, explained and defended, especially eulogizing Washington. His counsel was very wise about arranging definitely in the matter of precedence as to the American generals, and in suggesting provisions for guarding against misunderstandings. At length, in April, 1780, he returned, this time not a fugitive, but an honored messenger bearing news that a larger fleet and a larger army under the veteran commander, Rochambeau, would come to strengthen America as soon as the ships could be made ready.

When Lafayette landed on his return, things were in a bad way. During 1779 the war had been transferred to the South, where there had been little but disaster. Georgia had been fiercely attacked from Florida; and when D'Estaing, after some success in the West Indies, came with more than twenty sail of the line and many frigates to help in an attack on Savannah, his invariable ill-luck upon the North American coast still awaited him. Savannah was besieged; the time of storms approaching and the fleet being poorly sheltered, it was resolved to assault the town to avoid delay. In October the attempt was made; all bravery was shown; Pulaski was killed, and D'Estaing himself received two wounds.

But the repulse was complete, and the French departed. This was the end of the career of D'Estaing in America,—a career full of misfortunes rather than mistakes. An honorable and hard striving gentleman whose memory America ought to cherish. He had successes both before and after his American misfortunes; but his life was checkered, and closed sadly. When the French Revolution broke out he took the popular side; but recoiling before the excesses and falling under suspicion, he perished by the guillotine in the Reign of Terror.

In May, 1780, Charleston fell before Clinton and his lieutenants Cornwallis and Rawdon. Clinton before coming south had withdrawn the British troops from Newport to New York, which Washington continued to watch from the North River. Clinton was, however, too weak to attack, being forced to send reënforcements south. In July, at last, the climax of disaster was reached in the defeat of Gates at Camden, in which battle Lafayette's old associate Baron de Kalb fell pierced with eleven wounds while leading the brave troops whose conduct relieved in some measure the gloom of the day. The news which Lafayette brought from France was indeed necessary to prevent discouragement from becoming overpowering.

On the 10th of July, 1780, a fleet of seven ships of the line under Admiral Ternay arrived at Newport, bringing the new French commander Rochambeau with the first division, six thousand men, of the

new expedition. The second division might be soon expected, and meantime Rochambeau pitched his camp in the town of Newport, which the British had evacuated. The new commander, a veteran who had served since the days of Marshal Saxe, was not less a gentleman and a soldier than his predecessor had been.

“Allow an old father (*un vieux père*),” he wrote to Lafayette, “to talk to you as he would to a much loved son whom he had infinitely cherished. . . . It is always right to believe that the French are invincible, but I shall confide to you a great secret after an experience of forty years: there are no troops so easily beaten when they have once lost confidence in their leaders; and they lose it immediately when they discover that they have been exposed to danger in consequence of private and personal ambition. If I have been fortunate enough to retain their confidence until now, I owe it to the most scrupulous examination of my own conscience, to the fact that of the fifteen thousand men, or thereabouts, who have been killed or wounded under me in the different grades and in the most sanguinary engagements, I have not to reproach myself with having caused the death of a single man for my own personal advantage.”

Chivalrous and experienced though he was, it seemed for long as if Rochambeau would have not less ill-fortune than his predecessor. At the end of the summer the very nadir of depression was reached

in the treason of Arnold. The second division of the French expedition, blockaded at Brest, never crossed the Atlantic. Ternay's weak fleet in Newport harbor could not sustain itself alone, and for a year Rochambeau's army was held fixed to protect it. Meantime Greene, who had succeeded Gates in the South, was forced to pursue the Fabian policy which Washington had initiated and which had become the American way of making war. Often defeated he yet kept his troops together with morale unimpaired: marching and countermarching, cutting off detachments, manœuvring so as to block enterprises, avoiding direct contacts, he reached success by adroitness rather than by blows, the outcome being that in May, 1781, Cornwallis, forsaking North Carolina, came up to Petersburg, Virginia, leaving Greene to his subordinates. The traitor Arnold had in the winter been sent here from New York by Clinton; Cornwallis was now to support him and if possible conquer Virginia. Lafayette, who had been in command of the light infantry on the Hudson, had in February been detached southward by Washington to make head as he could with a small force against Arnold, and had made his way with difficulty to his new post. The French ships which were to have helped him in Chesapeake Bay, through the jealousy of their commanders supported him but little. His detachment, largely of New England men, objected strongly to being marched south and could only be brought back to duty by a remarkable exer-

cise of tact and decision. At Baltimore Lafayette pledged his own credit to clothe and supply his men. Reaching Fredericksburg, he visited the mother of Washington. Thence to Hanover Court House, and finally to the neighborhood of Richmond, this first of Union armies followed a track which nearly a century later other Union armies were to trace and retrace. Lafayette's force consisted at first of only three thousand men, two-thirds of whom were raw militia, and could ill cope with the five thousand veterans whom Cornwallis commanded. But the disciple of Washington had become a past master of the Fabian policy. Pressed by the British, he retired before them to the Rapidan. Tarleton, detached by Cornwallis, failed by only twenty minutes in capturing Governor Jefferson at Monticello. He then tried to seize stores at Albemarle, but Lafayette, reënforced by one thousand Pennsylvania Continentals under Wayne, threw himself across his path; then as Cornwallis, finding few loyalists to give him countenance, retired down the James toward Richmond, the Americans followed closely. As the British withdrew still farther, crossing the Chickahominy near White Oak Swamp and coming down to Williamsburg, the Americans continued to press, until, after being reënforced by Steuben to five thousand, an attack was ventured at Green Spring, July 6. Lafayette was repulsed, but there was no disorder or demoralization. When, during the first week in August, Cornwallis, adding to his army the detach-

ment at Portsmouth, bringing his strength up to seven thousand, took position at Yorktown, Lafayette took post within easy reach at Malvern Hill, with his troops in the best hope and heart.

Important things were happening elsewhere than in Virginia. The long wait of the French at Newport had been very hard to bear. Ternay, the admiral, died at last, as many believed through despondency, and the fortitude of Rochambeau was severely tried. As the spring of 1781 advanced, however, prospects for action brightened. Clinton, at New York, forced to weaken his army by sending troops and ships south and to the West Indies, was no longer to be feared. May 21 Washington and Rochambeau met at Wethersfield, Connecticut, and resolved upon an active campaign. The French commander cordially put himself under the command of Washington, and, leaving a few troops at Newport to secure the fleet, marched four thousand men across Connecticut to the camp of Washington on the Hudson. An enterprise against New York had been in mind, but, in the midst of the planning, great news arrived. It had been known that a large armament under the Count de Grasse, for the time in the West Indies, had orders to sail for the American coast; and word came in August that twenty-eight sail of the line and six frigates, carrying twenty thousand men, soldiers and sailors, was on its way to Chesapeake Bay. At last fortune had changed; Lafayette, as luck would have it, held the game at

bay at the most convenient place, and the hunters now closed in with all speed.

Marching southward through New Jersey with two thousand Continentals and the four thousand French, Washington so manœuvred as to cause Clinton to believe that New York was to be attacked from the west. Clinton was unconscious of the approach of De Grasse, and indeed among the allies only the two commanders knew of what was impending. When New Brunswick was passed, it was no longer possible to conceal the facts, and as Philadelphia was approached the spirits of the army rose. How different things were from the gloomy days at Valley Forge, when an American army had last been in that neighborhood! Now through French money they were well clothed and equipped, and in their company marched the French host perfectly appointed and disciplined into thorough soldiership. An enterprise was in hand, after the long mortifications and delays, which gave every promise of a favorable outcome. As the splendid army marched through Philadelphia, all stepping strongly to the drum and fife as they swept onward to anticipated victory, the streets were full of cheering crowds, and from the windows the women waved them a Godspeed.

At Chester, down the Delaware, Washington heard that the Count de Grasse had arrived between Cape Charles and Cape Henry on the 31st of August, and is said to have uttered his delight with

almost boyish demonstrations. After six clouded years, a glorious sunburst! While the army pressed on, he left his place for a day or two, and, with Rochambeau for a guest, looked in at Mount Vernon, the home from which he had been so long absent. Meantime there was work to do at the mouth of Chesapeake Bay. Sir Samuel Hood, one of the ablest of English sailors, had set sail at the same time with De Grasse from the West Indies with a fleet of fourteen ships of the line. Reaching Chesapeake Bay before the French, and finding no fleet there, he had gone on to New York, conveying to Clinton the first news of the French onslaught. Uniting his fleet with five ships of the line which he found there, the whole force, now under Admiral Graves, sailed southward to do battle. The British were inferior, but if Cornwallis was to be saved, a fight must be risked. On September 5 the English were sighted, and De Grasse promptly put to sea to meet them. The battle was obstinate, but the repulse of the English was complete; and De Grasse, wisely refraining from following up his victory in view of the prize that lay in sight at Yorktown, returned at once to his anchorage. Three thousand troops under the Marquis de Saint-Simon were landed, bringing the force of Lafayette up to eight thousand, who at once stretched his lines across the narrow neck of the peninsula, closing to Cornwallis the last door of escape.

Mr. Charlemagne Tower, Jr., who has told

the story of the French alliance with great fullness,¹ and whose important work has been followed for the most part in the present sketch, narrates an incident not often mentioned by American writers, but which ought to receive attention. When De Grasse returned from his battle with Graves, Washington was still near the head of Chesapeake Bay, and the French admiral, well appreciating that the favorable moment should not be neglected, was most anxious to attack Cornwallis at once, without waiting for Washington's arrival. He could easily put ashore from his immense fleet men enough, added to the army of Lafayette, to outnumber by thousands the garrison of Yorktown. To save time was imperative for him. The soldiers he brought belonged at West Indian posts and had been lent only for the occasion; his ships were pressingly needed elsewhere; moreover, it was entirely possible that Graves, reënforced, might any day come back in a condition to interfere more effectively than before. De Grasse had good grounds for urging an immediate attack, and was only restrained by the earnest opposition of Lafayette, who besought the admiral not to deprive Washington of the glory of superintending this crowning success. Lafayette prevailed; fleet and army lay idle; Washington and Rochambeau arrived September 14, and it was not until the 18th that his troops began to appear.

¹ C. Tower, "Marquis de La Fayette in the American Revolution," Philadelphia, 1895.

It was not too late. Clinton had vainly sought to effect a diversion in Connecticut, whither Arnold was sent in the hope that in the danger at the North Yorktown might be overlooked. But operations went forward unswervingly. October 6 the first parallel was opened, October 11 the second. On the 14th two redoubts, keys of the position, were stormed, Alexander Hamilton leading the assault upon one, the Baron Vioménil the assault upon the other, French and Americans vying emulously in the display of valor. On the 15th the British made a brave sortie, but their case was desperate. On the 17th the white flag was hoisted and resistance was at an end.

Cornwallis surrendered eight thousand men. A week afterward, October 24, Sir Henry Clinton appeared on the scene with twenty-five ships of the line and ten frigates, bringing to Cornwallis a reënforcement of seven thousand troops. Had Clinton appeared at Hampton Roads before the catastrophe, De Grasse would have been forced to pay heed to him as D'Estaing at Newport, three years before, had been forced to pay heed to Lord Howe. The French admiral put things at hazard by consenting to delay on Lafayette's urgency. It was gentlemanly, but was it good generalship? However, it is most ungracious for Americans to criticise the considerateness which gave Washington the opportunity to be present at the Revolution's glorious consummation.

The pageant of the surrender, October 19, 1781, was full of brilliancy. The united forces of Rochambeau and Saint-Simon made up a host of seven thousand superbly appointed troops. A soldier's diary of the time speaks of them as being all tall men, in uniforms of white turned up with violet. The Americans were in about equal numbers, on that day for the most part well clothed and equipped, French money having been applied to that end. They paraded proudly before Cornwallis and his humiliated force, while in the neighboring bay the magnificent fleet of the Count de Grasse, its thunders from time to time heavily audible, deepened the impressiveness of the ceremony. It was the *coup de grâce*, for England now gave up the struggle.

Reviewing the story of the French alliance of the Revolution, it cannot be said that the motive of our allies was the highest. For the most part it was national vanity, the glory of France, and not a thought for the higher interests of humanity, that swayed their counsels. Their interest in American freedom, aside from the consideration that it crippled England, as they believed, was very slight except in the breasts of a few enthusiasts. But making every necessary deduction, it must be said that their championship was gallant and generous, and the aid they rendered, priceless. D'Estaing, Rochambeau, De Grasse, warriors of the old régime, were men of most courteous and knightly quality. The armies

and fleets were full of brave men. The French soldiers of the next generation, under Napoleon, subdued Europe; and already among the young captains and lieutenants who served at Newport and Yorktown were men who later in life were to be admirals, ministers, and field marshals under the supreme commander. But Lafayette Americans will always put in a class by himself. If it be true to say that the Revolution could scarcely have been carried through to success but for help from France, it is also true to say that the help could scarcely have been effectively rendered but for Lafayette. How important he was as an example, as a reconciler when discord and rupture were imminent, as an intercessor with the king and ministers, this account it is hoped has made plain. Mirabeau applied to him at a later time the soubriquet "Cromwell-Grandison," which Carlyle has commended as a happy designation. But if by such a title it is intended to suggest that there was in Lafayette anything slow, or stilted, or finical, it is not felicitous. From first to last we see in him great energy, exalted purpose, dauntless courage, and excellent judgment. His service to his own country, rendered in the midst of almost constant turmoil and danger, was throughout of the highest value. In America he is known as the friend of Washington; and it is perhaps right to say that after Washington our freedom had no upholder more unselfish and more efficient than Lafayette.

WASHINGTON: FIRST IN WAR,
FIRST IN PEACE

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WASHINGTON: FIRST IN WAR, FIRST IN PEACE

IN a democratic view, it is a melancholy thought how many rebellions have failed, how many rebels have hung on a gallows, and how many revolutions have been strangled in their cradles. There are more Jack Cades and Wat Tylers than Cromwells in the world's history. Leaders who could make rebellion respectable have not always arisen even when the cause was good. It was, therefore, America's peculiar fortune that, in 1775, she had not only a just cause, but a man whose peer could hardly have been found in all history to do the work that lay before him.

After ten long years of growing irritation between England and America, the first blow had been struck. The enraged farmers followed the intruding British from Concord and Lexington to the very defences of Boston, and then, with their numbers ever increasing, they settled down in a great half-circle around the town, with the purpose of driving Gage, the British commander, into his ships. Everything was in confusion, and men came and went much as they chose, kept to their task only by the efforts of a few natural leaders. When the

men of New Hampshire and Rhode Island and Connecticut came, not even the fanatic zeal of the siege could banish the provincial jealousies. It was plain to all that there could be no great thing accomplished without a strong leader, one who would make men forget, for a time at least, the most prominent fact in colonial life, — the jealous love that every man had for his own colony.

The Continental Congress sitting at Philadelphia, where the delegates from each colony might take a view of the common dangers, and thus act more quickly and efficiently than could thirteen separate and widely distant legislatures, was forced, after a month of hesitation, to assume the army before Boston as the "Continental Army." As a commander-in-chief they needed a man who could, by his personal influence, draw the Southern and Middle colonies into the struggle which New England had thus far made alone. In this critical moment John Adams saw the wisdom of binding the South to New England's fortunes, by choosing a Virginian to lead her army. Local prejudice would have chosen John Hancock, who was bitterly chagrined that he missed the office. At Adams's suggestion, the choice fell upon Colonel George Washington, who even then sat in Congress in his uniform. Men remembered that, as a young surveyor, on the threshold of manhood, Washington had been sent on a dangerous mission to the Indians and to the French who were intruding on the border.

Heedless of threats and too wary for treachery, he did his task in a way that brought him renown. At the age of twenty-three he had led Virginia against the French, and, though he had no brilliant military record and had even suffered a serious defeat in the French and Indian War, yet none doubted his bravery or soldierly prowess. As the gracious Speaker of the House of Burgesses said to the stammering and trembling Washington, when he stood speechless before the House that had voted a compliment for his bravery, "Your modesty is equal to your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language I possess."

The new commander-in-chief was a physical giant, over six feet, and of well-proportioned weight. His composed and dignified manner and his majestic walk marked him an aristocrat and a masterful man. This character was heightened by a well-shaped, though not large, head set on a superb neck. His blue-gray eyes, though penetrating, were heavy-browed and widely separated, suggesting a slow and sure mind rather than wit and brilliant imagination. Passion and patience, nicely balanced, appeared in the regular, placid features, with the face muscles under perfect control. A resolutely closed mouth and a firm chin told of the perfect moral and physical courage. His clear, pale, and colorless skin never flushed in the greatest emotion, though his face then became flexible and expressive. Mentally, the directive faculties were

the more marked. He had been but half educated, with no culture except that coming of good companionship. From that he had learned rather the tastes of a country gentleman, — courtesy, hospitality, and a love of sport. The soundness of his judgment and the solidity of his information were the notable qualities. He had little legal learning, and was too shy and diffident for effective speech. His eloquence was the eloquence of battle. It had the note of challenge, and the gesture of chivalry when it threw down the gage of mortal combat. "I will raise one thousand men," he said in 1775, "at my own expense, and march myself at their head for the relief of Boston." Of original statesmanship he had little, but he had "common sense lifted to the level of genius." Believing in a course, he followed it, single-minded, just, firm, and patient. No rash action or personal caprice was ever charged to him. He was able to bear great responsibility, and courageously to meet unpopularity and misrepresentation. There was no flaw in his devotion. He was "often anxious, but never despondent." "Defeat is only a reason for exertion," he wrote. "We shall do better next time." This spirit, and his gift for military administration, were the winning traits in the years to come.

On the day before the Continental army fought at Bunker Hill, Washington accepted the command in his modest way, refusing to accept any pay for his services except his actual expenses. To his

wife, the one person to whom he would lay bare his heart, he wrote, "I assure you in the most solemn manner that so far from seeking this appointment, I have used every endeavor in my power to avoid it, . . . from a consciousness of its being a trust too great for my capacity." "A kind of destiny" had thrown him into this service, and he could not refuse.

Upon his arrival at Boston Washington found his army an armed mob. They had done creditable things, but in a blundering, unmilitary way. Rude lines of fortifications extended around Boston, but they were executed with crude tools and without competent engineers. A few officers were looking after the commissary department, but there was no head. No able officer looked after the recruiting and mustering service, or the barracks or hospital, and there was only a haphazard method of paying the soldiers. There was no uniform, and the very differences in costume augmented the colonial jealousies and self-consciousness. All that distinguishes a well-drilled and equipped army from a mob was wanting; yet here was the weapon with which Washington was expected to defeat the armies of the most powerful nation of the world. Only by the exercise of all his gifts as an administrator did he get even the semblance of an army. His own great care for details, his method and punctuality, had their effect upon others, and, though there was malingering, desertion, and petty mutinies, the enemy never knew

that the army before Boston was often on the point of dissolution. When, in December, the terms of enlistment ran out, Washington even succeeded, as he said, in disbanding one army and raising another within cannon-shot of the enemy. Then early in March he made an adroit move, seized Dorchester Heights, and left the British nothing to do but evacuate Boston in the utmost haste.

The American leader had scored his first triumph, and, that assured, he hastened with his army to New York, where, it was shrewdly judged, the British would strike next. Congress urged him to hold the city at all hazards, and, contrary to his better sense, he attempted the impossible. Without the control of the sea, New York, on its narrow strip of land thrust far down between two navigable waters, was a deadly trap. A military genius would have refused the risk, but Washington ventured it, half believing for a time that he might succeed. He placed his army in a position where every probability pointed to defeat, followed by almost certain capture or destruction. Had Howe not taken such tender care of his enemy's safety, all might have ended there. Washington was able to withdraw from Brooklyn after the defeat on Long Island, and then to evacuate New York and get behind the Harlem, because, as an English critic said, Howe calculated with the greatest accuracy the exact time necessary to allow his enemy to escape. The unbounded confidence of Washington's countrymen had proved too

much on this occasion for even his steady judgment, and in response to their enthusiasm he had tried to hold a position and defend a place for which his resources were inadequate. He had become for the moment a source of danger to the Americans because they did not understand his real greatness.

Washington realized keenly his own lack of military experience on a large scale; he had no heaven-born genius, and he knew it. The skill that he finally attained was that which a strong-brained, sensible man would get in any vocation which he plied industriously and to which he gave his heart. Washington learned as he fought, and his early errors, with the consequent disaster, grew steadily less, until, as a master of his profession, he issued from the war without a peer and almost beyond the reach of envy. Yet not even his ultimate military greatness explains his real service to his countrymen. It was the confidence that Washington inspired as a man, rather than his great genius as a soldier, which made him the only man in America who could carry the Revolution to a successful issue.

After losing New York Washington fought step by step as he retreated, repulsing the British at Harlem Heights and holding his own at White Plains; but the meddling of Congress cost him some three thousand men captured in Fort Washington, and then there was nothing for him but a retreat from the Hudson through New Jersey. This was not the only time that the democratic

faction in Congress forced their military plans upon their commander-in-chief. He was much hampered at first by Congressional interference in his military plans, but he soon won the limitless faith of these democratic enthusiasts, conquering all their fear of military despotism and gaining in the disposal of his own army the unquestioned supremacy of a Frederick or a Gustavus Adolphus.

As the American army fell back mile after mile the character of the leader was tested to its utmost. His generals grew insubordinate, his men deserted by whole companies, throughout the Jerseys thousands took oath of allegiance to George III, and, everywhere, there were murmurs of discontent with this sort of a campaign. Then it was seen that Washington's courage was not mere disregard of danger, but the sort that long endures uncertainty and never shirks responsibility, however great, bearing in silence temporary unpopularity or exasperating misrepresentation.

When the army at last crossed the Delaware the roll-call would muster but three thousand men. Straining his powers to the farthest bounds, Washington kept this force together, and added as many more. Concerning some of his extraordinary measures, Washington wrote Congress, "A character to lose, an estate to forfeit, the inestimable blessing of liberty at stake, and a life devoted, must be my excuse." Before the holidays he was ready to strike a blow for liberty, and to sustain his character. Crossing the

Delaware in spite of pitchy darkness and grinding ice, he marched through a sleeting storm nine miles to Trenton. The Hessians there were surprised and driven to surrender. Some nine hundred prisoners were taken to the other side of the river, and then Washington crossed again to win another victory at Princeton. The whole situation was changed. The wretched retreat was forgotten or regarded as only the prelude to the startling and brilliant victories. In England, Walpole declared that Washington was both a Fabius and a Camillus. His whole campaign got a new color because of its issue. In the Russian court, in Frederick's cabinet, and in the aristocratic circles of Paris, Madrid, and Vienna the campaign was praised as if the end had been in Washington's view from the first. The victories made Washington's military reputation rest on something tangible, to which men might point. Mere faith such as the Americans had shown heretofore had little effect on foreign critics. The European soldiers grew more interested, and their favorable opinion had vast influence in winning foreign aid.

Washington had been so consistently patient and brave in adversity, so silent under unjust criticism, never talking down his mistakes, or glossing his errors, that the hour of victory brought its tenfold reward in sympathy and confidence. He had quietly assumed so much obloquy that any stint of his praise seemed unjust and ungenerous. The victories renewed American confidence in their leader, and from

that time on whatever there was of unity for political or military purposes among the thirteen states came of the common faith in Washington.

Congress now put its whole trust in him until a temporary reverse put him again in the shadow of its distrust. It provided for long enlistments to take the place of the evanescent three months' levies that had ruined Washington's army, heretofore, just as he had it drilled. He was made a veritable dictator as to all that might affect the success of the army, its discipline, and its supplies.

It was well that the commander-in-chief had made this brilliant stroke, which appealed to all those who saw only the surface of the Revolution. For eighteen months thereafter nothing but reverse and misfortune and terrible trial fell to the leader's lot. While Gates was gathering unearned laurels at Saratoga, and the American cause was vastly advanced by Burgoyne's defeat and the consequent French alliance — while others were getting glory and significant victories, Washington was manœuvring with Howe, always refusing battle, or, as at Brandywine Creek and Germantown, meeting defeat. To the superficial observer there was only failure for Washington and success for his rivals. There seemed no great work in merely keeping an army together, delaying Howe and keeping him from going north to Burgoyne's rescue. When, at last, the British settled down cosily in the "rebel capital," — when Philadelphia had taken Howe, as Franklin

so cleverly expressed it, — Washington encamped at Valley Forge, his popularity waning at the very moment when he began to render his greatest service to his country. There, in the most trying hour, he continued to do what had been his greatest task from the first. In spite of jealous states and a wrangling Congress, and while deprived of all that source of power which a strong government gives to a commander, Washington kept together a starved and suffering army by his personal firmness, patience, and judicious handling of men.

While the burden of his trial was greatest there grew up in Congress an ugly scheme to put Gates in Washington's place. From the first there had been intrigue among the officers. "I am wearied to death," John Adams wrote, after a visit to the army, "with the wrangles between military officers, high and low. They quarrel like cats and dogs. They worry one another like mastiffs, scrambling for rank and pay like apes for nuts." Amid this jangling Washington had lived, disturbed, but not concerned for himself. Now Congress was implicated in the plotting. Some were impatient with the Fabian policy, and, like Adams, wanted "a short and violent war." A conceited or vain man would have resigned and let the whole cause go to perdition as a vindication of himself, but Washington was nobler than that. Throughout the Revolution he kept the same spirit that animated him in the earlier years of border fighting. Then he had declared, "I could offer myself a willing sac-

rifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease." He could "die by inches to save a people." During the Revolution he risked reputation, sacrificed popularity, suffered in mind and heart all that he had been willing to suffer in body to "save a people." Now he silently watched the plot ripen, and at the right moment exposed it with a royal contempt that quite crushed the plotters.

When the winter was gone there came the news of the French alliance. A fleet from France was menacing the British army in Philadelphia, and orders came for the evacuation of the city. They began to march toward New York across New Jersey. At Monmouth the American army fell upon them, and, but for the cowardly or traitorous conduct of General Lee, nothing but the fragments of the English army would have reached its destination. In that moment men saw what a tempestuous nature Washington habitually held in check. He stopped the retreat that Lee had unaccountably ordered, and in ungoverned rage cursed him for a coward. The troops were rallied, and they successfully engaged the enemy, but the moment for victory had been lost. The British reached New York in safety and Washington took a post on the Hudson.

Now came the supreme test that proved the American leader's unrivalled fitness for the work that he had to do. For three years, while Congress

was helpless, unable to tax or get aid from the states, while it paid the soldiers in paper, so valueless that the pay of a colonel would not purchase oats for his horse, while nothing but a forced levy would secure food for the army, when a hundred men a month went over to the enemy in sheer desperation with suffering for food and clothing, while the great country that had so much at stake seemed absolutely indifferent; in the midst of blank despair Washington kept his heart and his purpose. Again and again he was disappointed by the failure of the promised aid from France, the naval aid that would prevent the British escape by sea if they were worsted on land. At last, however, the moment came when De Grasse with a French fleet held a temporary control of the sea, and Lafayette had pushed Cornwallis out on the peninsula at Yorktown. A few days' hesitation would have lost the opportunity, but the man who had waited three years knew the moment for action when he saw it. Making a feint that deceived the enemy at New York, he got well on the way before his aim was guessed. For four hundred miles he urged his eager army, and brought six thousand men to Lafayette's aid at just the hour to render Cornwallis's escape impossible. The siege that then began could have but one end as long as De Grasse controlled the sea. The British surrendered and the war was ended.

As men looked back over the years of strife, they saw clearly that the greatest factor in the final suc-

cess of the Revolution was the personal leadership of Washington. If we seek to explain, it was not his great mind, for Franklin's was greater, not his force, energy, or ingenuity, for Benedict Arnold surpassed him in these qualities, not his military experience, for Charles Lee's was far more extensive, but it was the strength of character which day by day won the love of his soldiers and the perfect confidence of his countrymen. The absence of a mean ambition, the one desire of serving well his country and his fellow-men, the faithfulness that could not be driven from its task through jealousy or resentment, — these were the traits that gave him a unique and solitary place among the world's heroes.

Washington's service to his country was not to end with Yorktown. As he had been "first in war," because he was most fitted, so his unique character and preëminent place in American hearts destined him to become "first in peace." His last successes had still more firmly fixed his power among the people. Their thoughts and imaginations were filled with him. But they had not even yet seen the sublimity of his character. With a discontented and insubordinate army still in arms, and with no real government in existence, Washington was the only source of authority and law that had anything more than a local influence. The weak union might have at once lost all cohesion, and America might have degenerated into a number of petty, feeble, and hostile states. Worse than that, the hopes for an American republic

might have been indefinitely delayed, for, in the despair which settled upon many, there seemed but one escape from the political storm that threatened, — they would make Washington king. In the army this plan was gravely considered, but when broached to Washington, he expressed himself as pained that such ideas existed in the army. “I am much at a loss to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address which to me seems big with the greatest mischiefs that can befall my country.” To nobody could such a thought be more disagreeable, he declared earnestly. “Let me conjure you, if you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself or posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your mind.”

When the country seemed indifferent to the deserts of the army, when there was talk of disbanding it without provision for the future or even pay for what it had done, and when as a natural result there was mutiny and threat that the army would take government into its own hands, then it was Washington who tirelessly urged upon Congress and upon the states the justice of the soldiers' claims. Though he longed to go back to his home and to have his work done, yet he waited through months of weariness until the British really left the country, and until the proper laws at least had been made to insure the soldiers' rights. Then, at last, he stood among his officers at Faunce's tavern, bidding them take him by the hand, while he gave them each and

all the warm-hearted farewell that so fittingly ended their long years of trial and companionship.

For a brief time Washington now became "a private citizen on the banks of the Potomac . . . free from the bustle of a camp and the busy scenes of public life," planning as he said to "move gently down the stream of time until I sleep with my fathers." He did not see in this happy hour that his past services had but devoted him to further service, and that he had become "the focus of political intelligence for the New World." Even before resigning his leadership he had urged the states to put faction and jealousy away and make "an indissoluble union under one federal head." As the affairs of the Confederation became more and more deranged, and America, "like a young heir," as Washington wrote, wantoned and ran riot until its reputation was brought to the brink of ruin, their great leader warned them that it was in the choice of the states and depended upon their conduct whether they would be respectable and prosperous or contemptible and miserable as a nation.

The politically starved Congress grew daily weaker. It could not even persuade the states to carry out the terms of the treaty of peace or pay their debts to foreign countries. Congress was despised at home, and America was disgraced abroad. The world looked on to see the Confederation go to pieces. Within the individual states the mob seemed to have gained control and the law-giving bodies

abandoned themselves to paper money and other economic vagaries. There was quarrelling over state boundaries and commercial restrictions, one state against another, until thoughtful men like Washington urged that, if they were not a united people, they should no longer act the farce of pretending it. At last, however, his own endeavors united with others brought about a convention of the states, and that led to another which met at last in May of 1787, at Philadelphia, destined, if not purposed, to give America a new and stronger frame of government.

To that convention Washington reluctantly came. He thought himself a soldier, but no statesman. When at last he was persuaded that the chief hope for success must come from his approval, and that his mere presence would lend dignity and power to the convention, he yielded. As the delegates slowly assembled, he grew eager for the success of the work, and would listen to no halfway measures. "Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair," he said to those who talked of a weak plan. When the work began, he was chosen president of the convention, and, though he was no parliamentarian, his prominent place lent gravity and steadiness to the business.

After the Constitution was completed, and when it was before the country for approval, Washington had never been seen so eager for anything as for the adoption of the new scheme of government. It was only by active letter-writing that he used his

influence, however, for the work of the politician was out of character for him. The final success was very grateful to him, but, when the new government was being set up, and the whole country turned to him as their choice for President, he held back, diffident and reluctant. He yielded at last, because, as Hamilton represented to him, "In a matter so essential to the well-being of society as the prosperity of a newly instituted government, a citizen of so much consequence as yourself to its success has no option but to lend his services."

He was a noble figure to stand in the forefront of a nation's history. His simple manner well graced a republic, and yet there was a gravity and a lofty courtesy that lent dignity to democratic forms. His own self-mastery was a living lesson to democracy with its ill-repute for turbulence. No more fitting ideal of manhood could have been chosen for a new republic. It is, indeed, creditable to the men of that day that they were won by a character so unpretentious.

The political leadership was very unattractive to Washington. When the formality of election was over, he went to the seat of government with "feelings not unlike those of a culprit who is going to the place of execution." He bade adieu to private life and to domestic felicity, going to his new duties with resolution, but anticipating no joy in them. On his way the demonstrations of the people only filled him with forebodings. "The decorations of

the ships, the roar of the cannon, and the loud acclamations of the people which rent the skies as I walked along the streets, filled my mind with sensations as painful as they are pleasant." After he had sworn, in the open balcony of the Federal Hall, that he would faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, he read his address in the Senate Chamber. "The magnitude and difficulty of the trust," he protested once more, "could not but overwhelm with despondence one who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies."

He realized keenly from the first that he walked "on untrodden ground." Scarcely any part of his conduct might not thereafter be drawn into precedent. There must not be a government only, but a body of public opinion that would uphold it. Governmental action must be mixed of firmness, prudence, and conciliation, said Washington, if it would win liking and loyalty as well as respect. He resolved to give it every proper form of dignity, ceremony, and prestige that would appeal to the imagination of the people. Men must see that it was a real government, supreme in the land. To this end he adopted forms that some thought stiff, some unrepugnant, but which all were soon taught to respect. "If there are rules of proceeding," he wisely concluded, "which have originated from the wisdom of statesmen, and are sanctioned by the

common assent of nations, it would not be prudent for a young state to dispense with them altogether."

It was not by this conservatism alone that he gave strength to the new government, but by that unerring judgment which led him to choose men like Hamilton, Knox, Jefferson, and Randolph, and then to take for his guide Hamilton, the greatest of these for the present needs of the government. Natural leader as Washington was, he recognized the gifts and talents of others, and gave to each the task for which he was fitted. Hamilton's genius in affairs had not been in just the lines along which he was now to act, but his bold and original mind Washington saw to be a fit instrument to set the new government on a strong foundation.

Hamilton quickly demonstrated the wisdom of the President's choice. He funded the public debt and established confidence in the nation's honesty. He prevailed upon Congress to assume the state debts, and thus transferred the interest of creditors to the central government. A bank of the United States was created at his call, the "implied powers" of the Constitution being thus brought to the support of a strong government, and the commercial classes being won by this attention to their interests. He was enabled to do these things successfully, because he had the strong will of Washington with him. The fiscal measures had been made the President's own, because he was convinced that they were right, not merely that they were expedient. The end that

was sought was the purpose that Washington held from the first, — a strong and righteous government.

Hardly had things been set aright in the new nation's household than there came disturbing forces from abroad. The French people had gone upon a wild quest for liberty that threatened to turn the world upside down. The madness spread even to America, or rather seemed to leap, by a strong attraction, straight to America's democratic shores. France was soon fighting the conservative world; and what was more fitting than that liberal America should come to her aid? A French agent hastened to America to ask the people that very question. Washington determined that America, herself but "in a convalescent state," should not be drawn into the European struggle. She was too provincial at the best, too interested in European opinion and politics, and too oblivious of her own nationality. "I want an American character," the wise President declared, "that the powers of Europe may be convinced we act for *ourselves* and not for *others*." He would avoid their disputes and their politics; and he purposed, "if they will harass one another, to avail ourselves of the neutral conduct we have adopted." Washington, with a few others, stood almost alone in the advocacy of statesmanship rather than sentiment. In a few months, however, the public eyes were able to see more clearly, and the administration got the support that it deserved. The demands of the French revolutionary government were

refused, and the President issued a proclamation of neutrality.

Meanwhile the country had learned that the new central government proposed to enforce its laws even within state boundaries. The rebellion in the back counties of Pennsylvania was quelled by the strong action of the central power. There could be no return to the time when there was no power but that of an individual state. The national government was expected thereafter to make itself felt directly upon the individual, and men began to look to it therefore in awe and reverence.

A second time Washington consented to hold the reins of power; and again, as in the Revolution, he felt the bitterness of unpopularity. All the honor that he had gained could not protect him from the hasty wrath of a people dissatisfied with his policy toward England. Because he strove for peace, he was roundly abused in terms scarcely suited "to a Nero, a notorious defaulter, or even a common pick-pocket." It saddened but did not change him. He was only the more unwilling to serve another term; and when his eight years of civil service ended, he said farewell to the people he had served throughout a generation. He gave them the simple advice that they most needed. Tears coursed down his cheeks as he turned for the last time from the throng that had listened to him in love and sorrow. Three years he lingered in retirement at Mount Vernon, and then died, as he had wished to live, "amid the mild concerns of ordinary life."

THE FRAMING OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

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THE FRAMING OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

AS we study history, we find that great events, which in the distance loom up in a vast individual distinctness, appear on closer approach to be the natural and easy growth and sequence of the circumstances around them. Our federal constitution is not a crystal moulded at a single marvellous stroke, but the ripe fruit of regular seed-time and harvest. Its makers evolved it from no inner genius of their own, but out of the experiences and necessities of the time and the people they represented. Alike in its fundamental idea of a union of separate states, in its provision for representative government with limited and defined powers, and in its amendatory declarations of rights, it is always an expression of an already existing popular sentiment. In 1641, only eleven years after Boston was founded, the Puritan founders of our ecclesiastical Commonwealth of Massachusetts adopted for it a constitution called the Body of Liberties. Two years later, in 1643, the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven adopted articles of

confederation for common defence. In 1754 delegates from all the thirteen colonies except Rhode Island and Georgia assembled at Albany, N.Y., and promulgated a plan of union drawn by Dr. Franklin, which provided for a president and congress, for raising revenue, and for making general laws, but the plan was never adopted by the colonies. When the mutterings of the Revolution began, a congress of deputies from all the colonies except New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, met at New York in 1765. In 1774 the first Continental Congress met at Philadelphia. In May, 1775, came together the famous second Continental Congress, which the next year still further impressed the idea of union by selecting a commander-in-chief from Virginia and sending him to take command in Massachusetts, and by proclaiming the immortal Declaration of Independence — itself only a statement of familiar and previously expressed principles — which clinched the nails in the temple of a federal league.

From this time until nearly the end of the Revolutionary War the colonies were confederated though severally independent states, — the Declaration of Independence itself carefully recognizing that fact, — closely united by the necessities of the war, but slenderly united by political bands, Congress consisting of one House and constituting the central point of such confederate power as there was. It was, of course, a weak government, and in 1777, conscious

of its weakness, it recommended a closer confederation. The result was the adoption in 1781 of the Articles of Confederation. These seem very inefficient now; but they were a great step then — a step by which these diverse colonies were steadily drawing nearer and nearer to their incorporation out of a federal league into a national organization.

Under these articles they went on for a few years. The war over, the bonds of sympathy and of common resistance to a foreign power began to loosen. Then came also the increased friction of their interests. Each having the power to regulate its own commerce, it did not hesitate to embarrass that of any other. The Confederate Congress, which still dragged on a nondescript existence, had no power over the revenues, and could only ask the several colonies to contribute to the common fund. There was no central executive power, no judicial tribunal to determine questions of supreme and interstate moment. Congress could incur debts, but could impose no obligation to pay them; could make treaties, but not enforce them. It could not raise a dollar; it could not control a harbor; it could not hold a state to any federal duty.

It was evident that under such a powerless government the public debt — some \$43,000,000 — would never be discharged, nor the interest on it met, nor the army paid. Attempts were made to induce the several colonies to yield to Congress the right to levy duties, but in vain. By the end of 1783

Congress was, if not a one-horse concern, at most a one-house concern, made up of some twenty persons, knocking about from one city to another, making suggestions and recommendations, but powerless, and without prestige. No state felt any security in the stability of the Confederation. Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts was at once a menace and a valuable evidence of the need of a strong national government.

In order to secure the existing Confederation, some of the states, notably Virginia, had ceded the great northwestern territories to the general government, and constitutional provision was needed for them. In other words, and for every reason, it was plainly imperative that a new constitution must be had. A league among independent states which had no proper power of legislation, of executing its enactments, or of judgment through judicial tribunals, was utterly inadequate. In the fear of executive domination, it had been given hardly more than mere legislative expression. It had done good work in giving a nominal coherence to the colonies, in setting up before the world an appearance of national substantiality, in accustoming the people to the idea of union, and in continuing a representative system, but now there must be the substance of which all this was the forerunning shadow.

In 1785 the Massachusetts legislature recommended a convention. In 1786 Virginia took the

further step of inviting a meeting of the several states at Annapolis in the following September. New York was induced by Hamilton to join in this, and he was its delegate. But five states were represented, and they united in recommending a convention. The Confederate Congress, with some hesitation, at last sent forth a call for one, with a view, however, to only revising the Articles of Confederation, rather than forming a new and centralizing constitution.

So it was that on the 14th of May, 1787, there began to assemble at Philadelphia that famous Federal Convention, which sat with closed doors a century and a quarter ago, which adjourned on the 17th of the next September, and the recent anniversary of which found a nation of forty-five states, with additional territories on the continent and in the islands of the Atlantic and the Pacific, all composing the present magnificent republic, to which that convention gave the organic life that has made it the mightiest nation on the globe.

All the colonies were represented except Rhode Island, although a large party in that independent little state favored the convention and ultimately prevailed in securing there the acceptance and ratification of its work. Strange to say, the now great state of New York, then fourth in population, held back, and soon withdrew a majority of its delegates, jealous of conferring on the general government those national powers under the exercise of which

it has since grown to its imperial leadership in the Union. It was a convention of great ability and character. Its president was George Washington, who, having led to victory the armies of his country, now presided over the councils that resulted in its nationalization. As commander-in-chief, he had seen the weakness of a mere brittle league, and no man more earnestly or patriotically forecast the need of a strong general government or exercised, especially in his own state of Virginia, more influence in procuring its adoption. Still more influential and contributory in its construction was that marvellous and infusing prodigy among American statesmen, Alexander Hamilton, who was accused of desiring a monarchical system of government, but to whom we in good measure owe the embodiment of the constitutional sinews and powers which more than once have saved the republic from going to pieces. Unlike his colleagues from New York, he remained through the sittings of the convention, largely moulded its provisions, and signed it when completed—the only signer from New York. James Madison of Virginia, afterward President of the United States, was a leading spirit. He had served in the Continental Congress. He brought to the task before him not only experience, but a mind especially apt for constitutional constructive work. Benjamin Franklin, eighty-two years old, crowned with the honors of foreign courts, but still the Poor Richard of common sense, gave the convention the

salt of his wisdom, although he was not in the original delegation from Pennsylvania, but was added to it by an afterthought — perhaps his own. Some of the others were Gouverneur Morris from Pennsylvania, Rufus King from Massachusetts, the Pinckneys from South Carolina, James Wilson from Pennsylvania, a man who should be known to popular fame as well as to the student of history, Edmund Randolph from Virginia, afterward President Washington's first Attorney-general, Roger Sherman, and Oliver Ellsworth from Connecticut, John Dickinson from Delaware, George Mason from Virginia, John Rutledge, afterward Chief Justice of South Carolina, and Luther Martin from Maryland.

We are apt to think of these fathers of the Republic as gray-haired patriarchs. They were young men — most of them under fifty, the leaders even younger: — Hamilton thirty, Madison thirty-six, Rufus King thirty-two, Gouverneur Morris thirty-five, Randolph thirty-four, Gilman of New Hampshire twenty-five, and Dayton of New Jersey twenty-seven, Wilson of Pennsylvania forty-five, and Oliver Ellsworth forty-two. Some of them were of so little account that not all their names are in some of the encyclopædias of to-day. A few of them — some prominent ones: for instance, Randolph, Mason, Martin, already mentioned, and Gerry and Strong of Massachusetts — refused to sign the draft of the Constitution which the convention made and recommended to the colonies for

adoption. While evidently regarded as indeed a most important matter, yet it was to its framers and to their constituents only one link in the evolution of political growth, and therefore a proper subject for further consideration and for amendment.

The convention was set for the 14th of May. Virginia and Pennsylvania were promptly on hand. It was not easy journeying then, and progress was slow. Other delegations straggled along till New Jersey came on the 25th. Then seven colonies, a majority of the thirteen, being present, the convention was organized, and George Washington chosen as its president. On the 28th came Maryland, and still later Georgia and South Carolina. New Hampshire came late in June, and Rhode Island not at all. There were fifty-five delegates. Randolph of Virginia started the ball by suggesting what was called the Virginia plan. On the 30th he offered a resolution "that a national government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary." This was the germ of our present system. Note that it was to be supreme — no longer a government subordinate to the several states, but with supreme powers. Note also the fundamental division into legislative, executive, and judicial departments — power to make the law, power to interpret the law, and power to execute the law, — a distinction which runs through all our American political system, keeping each of these three departments separate and independent.

From this time forward, it was a question of the expansion and application of this general plan of a supreme government applied through these three departments to matters of national interest. The one most difficult problem was to preserve to the several states all their local rights and powers, and at the same time in respect to matters of federal and common concern to give to the central government power to make, interpret, and execute law, and in this limited respect to be supreme. At once the convention, by the very necessity of the case, went beyond the instructions of the Continental Congress which had convened it. For at once it was seen that it was impossible to give any such vitality and force to the old Articles of Confederation, and that a new government must be established.

Everybody admitted the necessity, but the rub was to agree on something which should suit interests that at first seemed irreconcilable. There were free states and slave states—a conflict there. There were large states and small states—a conflict there,—although the largest of them, Virginia, had only some four hundred thousand white inhabitants, scarcely more than three-fourths of the population of Boston now, while Rhode Island, Georgia, and Delaware had each less than seventy thousand, and less each than the city of Trenton now. Under the Confederation each state had had one vote: Delaware had been as potential as Pennsylvania, and her delegates were now instructed to sacrifice none of her

prestige or equal power. Thus began that system of compromise which has been characteristic of our politics ever since—sometimes wise compromise and sometimes harmful, but always more or less necessary at the time.

The first article of the Constitution provides for a legislative department—first in order and rank because, with the strong feeling then existing for a popular government, it was intended that the legislative body, being numerous and coming close in its representative capacity to the people not only of each state but of each district in it, should have precedence over the executive and judicial. Contrary, however, to the notion that in numbers there is strength it is always the smaller body that gets on top, and now the one-man executive has long since stood first in rank, lugging along with him even his cabinet officials; then come the judges of the Supreme Court, and at last,—an entire departure from the intention of the framers,—the Congress. The first question was, Should there be two Houses of Congress, or one house, as before? That was an easy question, and quickly settled in accordance with the rule of two Houses which obtained in most of the colonies, and which is responsive to the necessity of a system of governmental checks on hasty or ill-digested action. Here again the House of Representatives is first in the order of establishment, and was undoubtedly intended to take precedence of everything

else. Indeed, it is invariably named in the record of the convention as the "first" branch and the Senate as the "second." And yet to-day the smaller Senate, by virtue of the same tendency, precedes the House in rank and dominates it in legislation.

Next was the question how the two legislative bodies should be chosen, and what should be the basis of suffrage. Some clamored for an equal voice for each state in each House; others for a vote in proportion to population. Some, fearing the supremacy of the people, were for the election of all members of Congress by the state legislatures; others by the people at large. It was soon agreed — very naturally as it now seems to us — that the members of the House of Representatives should be chosen directly by the people, and that each state should be entitled to a number of representatives proportionate to its population. This was not only a step in popular government, but it tended to recognize the people rather than the state as the foundation of the government and as, in certain respects, independent of their respective states; it tended toward a common national idea. But in the Senate the individuality of the states was recognized in the provision that senators should be chosen by the state legislatures and not by the people at large, which latter method, in the interest of purer elections, will perhaps be adopted at some future day. There was a long, hard struggle whether each state should

have an equal voice in the Senate, or one in proportion to its population. After a long discussion, which at times seemed likely to break up the convention, it was decided that each state should have the same number of senators—two. This adjustment of representation in the House and Senate was the first great compromise. The small states gave up their equality in the House and the great states gave the little ones more than their share in the Senate.

But a difficulty arose as to the House. For instance, Pennsylvania had a little over four hundred thousand free population, with substantially no slaves. Virginia had about the same free population, with nearly three hundred thousand voteless slaves, a total of seven hundred thousand. If the basis of representation in the House was population, then Virginia would have seven representatives, and Pennsylvania, which had as many freemen, and therefore cast as many votes, would have only four. Here came in another compromise. It was agreed that the slave states should, in determining their basis of representation, reckon only three-fifths of their slaves, and that, as an offset, if direct taxes were at any time laid by the general government, the slave states should have the same additional apportionment of that burden.

Not much difficulty was had with reference to the other provisions for the legislative department. After considerable discussion and fluctuation, it was

easily enough settled that a representative should be chosen for a two years' term, a senator for six years; that the former should be at least twenty-five years old, seven years a citizen of the United States, and also an inhabitant of the state electing him; that the latter should be at least thirty years old, nine years a citizen of the United States, and also an inhabitant of the state electing him; that Congress should meet at least once each year on the first Monday of December; that each House should be the judge of the election and qualifications of its own members, and make its own rules; and that the House of Representatives should have the sole power of impeaching government officers, and the Senate to try them. It was provided that all bills for raising revenue, that is, all bills which directly lay any tax on the people, shall originate in the popular branch, thus putting the purse-strings as nearly as possible into the hands of the people. This is another suggestion of the conflict between the great and little states. When the great states yielded to the little ones an equal voice in the Senate, they got back in return this provision, that all these money bills shall originate in the popular branch, where the great states, which have to pay most of the tax, have the most voice. Even here, however, the horse-jockeying did not end, for a provision was added that, though the House only can originate revenue bills, the Senate can amend them as it can any other bill.

Having agreed on some of the more essential features of a constitution, the convention appointed a Committee of Detail — Rutledge of South Carolina, Randolph of Virginia, Gorham of Massachusetts, Ellsworth of Connecticut, and Wilson of Pennsylvania — representing three free and two slave states — to work out the details, some of which I have just mentioned. A further one of them is that a bill shall become a law by passing both Houses and receiving then the approval of the President, or if he disapprove it, then by passing both Houses by a two-thirds vote of each House. This is a departure from the rule of the independence of the legislative and executive branches, and gives the President, the chief executive, a right to intervene in the making of laws. This veto power has, however, proved to be a valuable check on hasty or improper legislation.

But the great section under this article concerning the legislative department is that defining the powers which Congress has. Under the Confederation it had, as has been stated, little more power than to recommend action to the states. The powers now conferred on it were mostly those which were recognized as necessary to the maintenance of an integral national government. There was great reluctance to part with the state right to control taxation: ten years earlier it would not have been yielded. Even now it would not have been yielded but for the imperative lessons of experience and the

absolute necessity of the case. It is to be kept in mind that the convention did not and indeed could not make the Constitution final and binding; it had yet to be adopted by the states, so that the work of the framers was tentative, and perhaps they took some risks which otherwise they would not have taken. The first power they gave Congress was the vital power to levy taxes in order to pay the debts and to provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States. It was a mighty but beneficent power, and it was the open sesame that at once transformed a chaotic system into a perfected organization with power to summon and expend the energies of all its parts, to incur debts and raise money to pay them, and to legislate at the common expense for the common welfare. The second power, to borrow money, naturally followed the power to raise it by taxation. The third was the great power to regulate commerce, the lack of which was one of the causes of the Revolutionary War and of our resulting independence, as it was also of the calling of the convention. For, after our independence had been achieved, there followed the constant and bitter friction and conflict between the colonies—quarrels between Virginia and Maryland as to the navigation and commerce of the Potomac, and between New Jersey and New York as to those of the Hudson. Burdensome exactions and duties on the commerce of one colony had been laid by another. And so this power was

given to regulate commerce not only with foreign nations but among the several states and with the Indians. It is understood to be lodged entirely in the United States, and not left in any part to the states. It has been the second most beneficent power. From its few words has been enlarged the jurisdiction of Congress over the whole domain of interstate commerce, navigable streams, interstate highways and railroads, bridges, ocean and coast surveys, all scientific aids to the navigation of the high seas, and our whole national banking and commercial system.

Then followed other powers, which were the natural suggestion of the occasion, the fourth being to establish uniform naturalization and bankrupt laws, and the fifth to coin money and regulate its value and fix the standard of weights and measures. At the same time each state was forbidden to coin money or emit bills of credit or make anything but gold and silver coin legal tender. These double provisions, giving on one side and denying on the other, put substantially the whole financial system of the country, its coinage and currency, into the hands of the United States. It was withdrawn from the states because just then everybody was awake to the painful experiences which the people of so many colonies had suffered from a debased currency. The power must be centred somewhere, and it was given to the federal government. The result was the restored credit of the nation, the payment of the

Revolutionary debt, and in our Civil War the mighty financial expedients which were necessary to carry us through that struggle, and the success of which won the wondering admiration of the world.

Franklin, who a quarter of a century before had been Postmaster-general, when the whole postal business of the country was less than is that to-day of many a country village, inserted the power "to establish post offices and post roads," under which our postal revenues are now some \$122,000,000, and our postal expenditures some \$3,000,000 more. Then came the power to grant patents and copyrights, to make inferior United States courts, to prevent piracies and offences on the high seas; the power, jealously withheld from the executive, to declare war and regulate its captures and prizes; the power to raise armies and maintain a navy and make rules for their government, to call out and organize the militia, only, however, for the purpose of executing the laws of the United States, suppress insurrection, and repel invasion. Here, too, state pride came in, reserving to the states the appointment of the officers of the militia and the training of it. Power was given to legislate exclusively over all places ceded for forts, navy yards, etc., and over the District of Columbia, which, by the way, is now, by act of Congress, governed not by popular vote but by three commissioners appointed by the President, and is at this time admirably governed, although, as the district has no representative in Congress, and

the consent of its governed is not consulted or had, it is a striking exception to the rule of our democratic system.

Finally, in order to meet all exigencies, power was given Congress to make all laws necessary to carry out all these powers, or any other power given by the Constitution. The necessity of this final general power appears in view of the express understanding, afterward written into the Constitution in the form of an amendment, that the powers that were not delegated to the United States nor prohibited to the states should not be exercised by the United States but should be reserved to the states or to the people.

The slave states were very sensitive as to their rights in the matter of slavery. Charles C. Pinckney of South Carolina gave notice that that colony would reject the Constitution if it gave the United States power to stop the importation of slaves. There was a long contest, but it was compromised at last by a provision that the slave-trade should not be prohibited prior to the year 1808, at which later time it was, at Jefferson's suggestion, prohibited. That everybody, however, was ashamed of slavery is evident from the fact that neither that word or the word "slave" or "slave-trade" appears in the Constitution, but some inoffensive paraphrase is used instead.

Pinckney also insisted that the United States should have no power to lay a tax on articles ex-

ported from a state. Such a tax would have burdened the development of the cotton industry of the South. This was agreed to; so that while Congress can tax imports, it cannot tax exports from a state. Provision was made for uniform and impartial regulations in each state port for the vessels of any other state. Remembering English history, the writ of habeas corpus was made unsuspensible except in necessary cases of rebellion or invasion. Bills of attainder, ex post facto laws, and titles of nobility were forbidden. It was provided that no state can enter into any treaty or lay any duties on imports or exports (except for purposes of inspection), the great tariff power as to imports being reserved to the United States.

Next in importance to the legislative is the executive function, the power that executes the laws; and this is the subject of Article 2. This power is lodged in a President, who has no other title, and whom, therefore, it is improper to address as his Excellency or his Honor. There was no separate executive under the Confederation. With the sentiment which had been created against kings and sovereigns, there was at large great jealousy against putting executive power in any one man's hand, and the legislative had engrossed the executive function. But here again experience had taught the necessity of a responsible individual head. There was quickly an agreement on having one chief magistrate, more than that number not having been the custom in

any of the colonies. Yet a plural executive was voted for by some. Great differences of opinion then arose as to how the President should be chosen, and how long he should serve. The Committee on Detail reported that he should have a seven years' term. Some suggested a term for life, others during good behavior, some six, some ten, some twenty years. The Committee on Detail also reported that he should be reëligible. It was settled at last, not on any special principle, but as a matter of expediency, that the term should be four years. There is no incapacitation to serve again.

The difficult question was how to choose the President. There was a strong push to have him chosen by Congress, either by a majority of the votes of Congress or by a majority of states, each state in Congress casting one vote. It was objected that this was an inbreeding system, which would lead to the President's intriguing with Congress for reëlection, or to its members dickering with one of their own number and giving no outsider a chance; the independence of the legislative and executive branches would thus have been seriously jeopardized. It was proposed to have the President elected directly by the people at large, but this plan was not thought practicable, and then, too, the small states and the slave states objected to it. Finally here again a compromise, still with a view to states' rights. For it was settled that, while the United States Congress fixes the day of election,

yet each state provides, in such way as its own legislature sees fit, for the election on that day, not of a President, but of persons called electors; each state being entitled to a number, not in proportion to its population, but equal to the number of its senators and representatives, thus giving the small states an advantage. These electors, no one of whom can be a United States office-holder, meet in their own respective states and ballot for a President and for a Vice-President. As this provision of the Constitution has been since amended in certain details, they transmit their vote to the president of the Senate. The person having the largest number of electoral votes for President—if a majority of all the votes, not of all the states—is chosen; if not such a majority, then from the names highest on the list the House of Representatives, apart from the Senate, choose a President. But here, queerly enough, and suggesting again the ingrained tendency to compromise, the vote is by states—thus differing from the electoral college—each state having one vote, and a majority of all the states being necessary for a choice.

So, also, a person having a majority of the electoral votes for Vice-President is chosen. If no person has such a majority, then from the two highest names on the list the Senate in its turn alone chooses the Vice-President by a majority vote (which in the Senate is of course a vote by states), and, where no President has been chosen, the Vice-

President acts as President. It was thought that in this way the election of these officers would be taken away both from the direct vote of the people and in the first instance from Congress. Also, that these electors would be selected with great care with a view to exercising their own individual judgment in the naming of a chief magistrate, and that, holding no other national office, they would be disinterested, and make the best choice. The result, however, has been really a direct popular vote for President, because now, by long-established custom, the electors exercise no judgment of their own, but carry out the party nomination made in party convention held months before election. The voter on election day rarely reads the names of the electors on his ballot; he only makes sure that it is a ballot that will be counted for the presidential candidate of his party.

The provision that "the president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates [of electoral ballots] and the votes shall then be counted" has given rise to much dispute, and once or twice nearly resulted in a wreck. It means, undoubtedly, that the Vice-President shall count the votes in that presence in such manner as Congress shall provide; and within a few years such a provision has been enacted into law.

The convention in 1787 was so far jealous of foreigners as to provide that no person not born in the United States can be President, yet remem-

bering how many foreign-born had gallantly fought our battles with us, and that some, like Hamilton, were even members of that very convention, an exception was made in behalf of any foreign-born person who, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, had become a citizen. The President must be at least thirty-five years of age, and have been fourteen years a resident of the United States. No property qualification is required of a President, senator, or representative, and this shows the democratic spirit of the convention, for, while a property qualification would not be thought of to-day, it was then required in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and other states. Provision was made for stated and irreducible pay of the President; for the succession to his place, in case of his death or disability, of the Vice-President, who meantime presides over the Senate; and for an official oath to support the Constitution of the United States.

The President was, of course, made commander-in-chief of the army and navy; and the pardoning power was given him. Some of the smaller states, and indeed some others, wishing to reserve to themselves as much power as they could, tried to lodge in the Senate—as more especially representative of the states—the power to appoint diplomatic, judicial, and certain other officers, and to make treaties. Here again a compromise. The President makes all treaties, but they must be confirmed by a two-thirds vote of senators present—

another invasion of the strict independence of the two branches of government. He appoints ambassadors, judges, army and navy officers, etc., but they must be confirmed by the Senate. Congress, however, in the matter of such inferior officers as it thinks proper, may vest the appointment of their incumbents in the President alone, in the courts, or in heads of departments. The President is required to inform Congress of the state of the Union; he can convene Congress at other than its regular time of meeting, and adjourn it if its members disagree as to time of adjournment. He must see that all the laws are executed. He and all other civil officers shall be removed if impeached or convicted of a high crime or misdemeanor.

The third article deals with the third great department of the government — the judicial, — and thus recognizes the three vital divisions suggested in Governor Randolph's original resolution. This article provides for a Supreme Court and such inferior federal courts — Circuit and District courts, and United States commissioners — as Congress may establish. The judges are made independent by a tenure of office for life unless impeached for bad behavior. They are given fixed salaries which cannot be reduced. Their power extends to all cases arising under the Constitution or laws of the United States, cases affecting diplomatic officers, cases of admiralty and marine jurisdiction, and controversies to which the United States is a party, or

between states, or between a state and citizens of another state, or between citizens of different states. The rest of the article provides for trial by jury, and defines treason.

This judicial article is exceedingly important. There was no judiciary under the Confederation. But now to the highest court of the nation was given the power of a supreme tribunal. It was one thing to give to Congress the letter of the powers already enumerated, but who should interpret them, define their limitations, and give judgment under them? If the judicial power had been left to the states, if each state could interpret the Constitution, then there would have been thirteen federal constitutions in 1787, and forty-five in 1903. This article made the United States Court supreme within its range — the final arbiter. To the Constitution the framers gave the letter, and the Supreme Court has given the spirit. Under the judgments of Marshall and the arguments of Webster it received by judicial interpretation a gigantic force, expanding the exercise of each of its powers, and making it strong enough to throttle nullification in the thirties and to crush rebellion in the sixties. It is doubtful whether the framers quite anticipated its far-reaching potency.

There are four more articles, which deal with details. The fourth makes each state give full faith to the public acts of every other; gives a citizen of Massachusetts, for instance, if in New

York, the privileges of a citizen; provides for the surrender of runaways from justice, and sadly enough — happily of no consequence now — of fugitive slaves panting for freedom. It regulates the admission of new states, gives Congress control over the territorial possessions of the nation, now including the Philippines, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and Guam, and guarantees every state a republican form of government and against invasion, and, if appeal is made, even against domestic violence.

Then follow three articles, providing for the method of amending the Constitution, for making it and the laws and treaties made under it “the supreme law of the land” — a most pregnant source of power — and for its establishment when ratified by nine states. A preamble was prefixed, in which it is recited that “We the people [not of the several states, as proposed by some, but] of the United States . . . establish this constitution,” thus making solemn declaration that it was no longer the states but “we the people” of the one United States, who constitute the republic. In this preamble the object is stated to be “in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty.” All these purposes are such as suggest not a mere federal league but a strong, consolidated nation.

The work of the framers was done; and a mighty work it was, builded even better than they knew.

It preserved the integrity of the several states, it left them home-rule in matters of home concern, police, roads, education, land, and local offices, but it made them one nation in national affairs.

There was great opposition to its adoption. Sam Adams in Massachusetts opposed it. Patrick Henry, who had declined to be a member of the convention, fought it tooth and nail in Virginia. A few votes more in New York would have rejected the instrument which has made that state imperial. On the other hand, it was strenuously advocated. Washington gave it the tremendous weight of his influence. Rarely has any paper been written with so fine a spirit as his letter transmitting to the Confederate Congress the completed work of the convention, in which letter he describes its generous temper, each section willing to sacrifice some local right or prestige for the interest and safety of all, keeping always in mind what "appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our union, in which is involved our prosperity, safety, and perhaps our national existence." During the following months, Hamilton, Madison, and Jay wrote those convincing papers, now known under the name of the "Federalist," in which they exploded the charge of a monarchical tendency in the Constitution, and made clear its republican principles. At last, and after heated debates, it was at considerable intervals accepted by nine states, and then the others—even Rhode

Island — fell in. In March, 1789, it went into operation with George Washington as President. Ten amendments to it, in the nature of a declaration of rights, but for the assurance of which it very likely would not have been ratified, were at once recommended by the First Congress, and were adopted. Since the Civil War, we have added the three great liberty amendments which grew out of that struggle — the thirteenth, abolishing slavery, the fourteenth, ignoring race and color in citizenship, and the fifteenth, conferring universal suffrage.

With these amendments it is the worthy Constitution of a free and equal people. "It is a marvellous work," said Gladstone; "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." Said Franklin as the convention rose from its sitting, "it is the rising sun." Yet it was the product of no man or coterie of men, much as we revere those who framed it and who brought to its framing great facility, and resources, and some of them preliminary drafts of its form. It was the concentrated political intelligence of a republic of freemen. The very fewness of the subsequent amendments to it is a most striking tribute to its comprehensiveness. There could have been no adequate conception of the tremendous growth of our country in area, in interests of all sorts, in the development of science, in the unforeseen radical changes in navigation, transportation, carriage, metropolitan centres; indeed in the birth of a new world. And

yet the Constitution, with its few amendments, has been found equal to every demand and adapted to every requirement of our expanded civilization and territorial reach. It must have been the unconscious prescience of the genius of the people that omitted from that treasure-house of resources so few provisions needed then or for the future. On the contrary, as one reads the doings of the convention, one is struck with the plenitude, not only of the provisions for every probable exigency which were adopted, but of those which were only proposed and not adopted, for hardly a suggestion which political ingenuity could devise seems to have been lacking.

No doubt the adaptability of the Constitution is largely due, as has been stated, to its liberal judicial interpretation; and the credit for its beneficence is to be divided among its framers, the Supreme Court, and the great advocates and statesmen who, at the bar and in Congress, opened the way to the exercise of its mighty energies. It is brief. It wisely drew only the great outlines, leaving details to work themselves out, as they have done. This has given it the elasticity which, under judicial construction and determination, has met all our necessities, although it has preliminarily given rise — especially for the first half-century — to radical differences of opinion in public discussion. The distinction between a state constitution and the federal constitution, roughly stated, is that a state, being an original sovereignty, can exercise any power not prohibited to

it by the former, while the United States cannot exercise any power that is not delegated to it by the latter. But when it comes to the practical application of this rule, the great division of parties has been as to whether the provisions of the federal Constitution shall be construed strictly or liberally. For instance, when the question of a national bank came up, the strict constructionist said the Constitution does not anywhere in terms give the United States power to charter a bank, to which the liberal replied that Congress has the power to regulate commerce and the further power to make all laws necessary to execute that power, and a banking system is essential to commerce. The liberal construction has prevailed. It is human nature that, while no doubt there has been an honest difference of opinion, a party is inclined to a liberal construction when it desires something done, and to a strict construction when it desires to have nothing done.

While the nation has steadily grown stronger at home and abroad, so exquisite has been the balance of power under the Constitution that the rights of citizen and state have been assured. It removed local frictions, and commerce at once spread its wings. Our national resources at once blossomed forth. We forthwith took place among the nations of the world, and quickly became its model of free government, an asylum and hope for all oppressed. We soon paid the Revolutionary War debt, and have since established the highest national credit,

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not more by our material wealth than by the simple process of keeping our word and meeting our obligations with the best dollar. Our population of three millions in 1787 is more than eighty millions in 1903; our national wealth is a hundred billion dollars, our annual foreign commerce, exports and imports, is nearly four billions; our manufactures fourteen billions; our principal cereals three and a half billion bushels. Of our advance in all the arts of civilization, in practical science, in education, in living, and in all lines, it is not for this paper to tell. All these results have followed upon the operation of our national Constitution. It is for us, in our turn, to stand by it, keeping in grateful mind the wisdom and patriotism with which, in a spirit of mutual helpfulness and concession, the framers wrought it, and in the exhibition of which they but represented the people whose mouthpiece they were.

THE OPENING OF THE GREAT
WEST

BY WILLIAM E. BARTON

AUTHOR AND LECTURER

THE OPENING OF THE GREAT WEST

NEARLY two centuries ago Bishop Berkeley, intent on his work of "planting arts and learning in America," wrote his immortal stanza:—

“ Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The first four acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
Time's noblest offspring is the last.”

It was a noble poem, and a brilliant and truthful prophecy. But the “empire” which Bishop Berkeley saw was one whose domain was the islands of the Atlantic, and a little fringe of continental America. The great university which he intended to found was in Bermuda, and from his residence near Newport his longest journey was to Boston, and that he made but once. Bishop Berkeley's star of empire set in the woods no great distance back from the Atlantic coast. The fifth act of the great drama whose stage had been the world had in it many more scenes, and more dramatic and inspiring scenes, than the curtain had at that time disclosed.

The course of empire did not move westward in unbroken sweeps along parallels of latitude; it did

- not follow the sun's unwavering course, nor cross the horizon on isothermal lines. It followed lines which were already marked out by Indian trails, or by the winding courses of streams.

There is a little couplet which tells of the journeyings of a lost boy : —

“ The falling waters led me;
The foodful waters fed me.”

He who is lost has but to find the nearest stream, and, fishing in it for food, follow its windings day by day. Sometime it will bring him to the habitations of men. But the westward movement was a movement up-stream. He who follows down-stream comes, by whatever tributary, at length to the one mouth in lake or ocean; but he who follows up-stream may turn unconsciously where the tributary and the main stream seem of equal size, and be led a thousand miles away. Emigration from the Atlantic seaboard widened as it went westward, and the diverging roads crossed and interlaced. Even so great a boundary as the Ohio River could not wholly separate the colonists to the north of it from those to the south; though, had there been no river, we should have heard much less of Mason and Dixon's line. A merely imaginary boundary does not wholly separate immigrants. The boundaries that divide are those that have stood from the creation.

Daniel Boone was born in Pennsylvania in 1734, moved southward through Virginia to the banks

of the Yadkin in North Carolina; followed the streams of North Carolina to their sources in the Cumberland Mountains; crossed over to the headwaters of the Watauga in East Tennessee; made his way through Cumberland Gap; followed down the streams beyond to the Blue Grass region, and penetrated northwestward into the heart of Kentucky, somewhat toward its northern boundary. Abraham Lincoln's ancestors lived successively in Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky; and his father moved from Kentucky to southern Indiana, and from there to central Illinois. These are typical instances, and show a marked curve of migratory movement, southwestward to the crest of the mountains, then northwestward toward the fertile regions of the Mississippi Valley. For a long time this route was one of the principal highways of civilization westward. Much later there were notable movements to the north. The close of the Revolution brought up for adjudication the conflicting claims of colonies toward "the South sea" of the early charters, and resulted in that first bold affirmation of the new centralized government that the territory had been won by all the colonies, and belonged to the national government. Then Connecticut began to settle her Western Reserve in Ohio, at the same time filling up her school fund by the sale of the lands. Then Massachusetts sent out colonies like that which founded Marietta, on the Ohio River, in 1788. These movements found

highways toward the sunset through the passes of the Monongahela or up the Mohawk and along the shores of the Great Lakes. But our present concern is with the movements previous to the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787.

George Washington was, to all intents and purposes, an English gentleman, living near tide-water, and doing business constantly with Great Britain. His clothes were made in England. He ordered Martha Washington's millinery in England, directing his correspondent to send a hat or a bonnet, whichever was in fashion at the time. Abraham Lincoln did not order his clothing from England, but dressed in homespun or home-tanned leather. Nancy Hanks wore a sunbonnet, which did not change its style, and which bore no mark of importation, either as regarded material or fashion. The real American, self-reliant, and independent of England, began when the crest of the Alleghanies had been crossed. On the eastern side of the mountains population multiplied, both by birth and immigration. For a good long time its estimated rate of increase was a doubling once in twenty-five years. The first settlers settled hard by the sea and strained their eyes toward the sunrise for the vision of a sail. But little by little the filling up of the fertile lands along the coast drove men backward. First went the French, fur traders and Jesuit priests, and their work in civilization was an important one, though it does not concern this narrative, which deals with

the English-speaking peoples, and with permanent settlement. The first white men to make their way up-stream and over the divide are all unknown to us. They were hunters, trappers, or traders. Contact with the life of the Indians and the free atmosphere of the woods bred in them a hardy spirit of adventure, and they breathed with difficulty if many of their own kind were within rifle-shot. They set their traps a little higher up-stream every winter. They followed the deer and the wild turkey each year a little farther up the mountains. They traded each year with Indians a little more remote from the regular trading-posts. They disappeared for a year or two years at a time, and, returning, told their friends of better hunting or trapping farther inland. They died, and other men entered into their labors and forgot their names.

Then followed other men, equally hardy, and with more settled purpose. These were surveyors or land agents or daring settlers. With axe in one hand and rifle in the other, they penetrated the wilderness, and made homes. But the farther up-stream they went, the narrower the valleys became and the less suited to human habitation. So the tide of population rose a little higher in the valleys on the east of the Appalachians, and flowed southward along their base in a sluggish and constantly rising stream. It was like the movement of a glacier, — southward by reason of the pressure of population to the north, and westward till the rough and heavily timbered

lands forbade their hope of an easily obtained living. Neither the English of Jamestown or New England, nor the Dutch of New York, nor the French of the South Atlantic states, forced their way across the hills. Not till a new strain of blood, that of the hardy Scotch-Irish, came into our American life did population overflow the summits of the mountain passes, and trickle into the Mississippi Valley. First it was only a little rill of individual hunters, who scarce kept the trail open ; then came a few families ; and then came colonies, and the settlement of the new West was begun.

The westward movement through Cumberland Gap and the passes of the Great Smoky Mountains may be said to have begun with the Revolution, and that down the Ohio or along the shores of the Great Lakes with the Ordinance of 1787. Two notable movements coincident with the outbreak of the Revolution deserve especial attention. The first is the founding of the Watauga Association, and the other is the conquest of the Northwest by George Rogers Clark.

Who knows the real beginning of the American Revolution? Not at Lexington, or Concord, or Bunker Hill, was the first bloodshed. If we except the outbreak of the 5th of March, 1770, when the blood of five members of a mob was shed by British regulars in King Street, in Boston, the first real battle of the Revolution was at Alamance, in North Carolina, May 16, 1771. There the royal governor,

Tryon, led his troops against a body of frontiersmen, drawn up in protest against the extortionate demands of the government, and they fought till their powder was gone, leaving nearly two hundred dead and wounded on the field. Tryon followed his victory with merciless prosecution of the offenders, causing seven of them to be hanged, and many of them to be impoverished. Some fled with their families farther back into the mountains and across the divide into what is now East Tennessee. In 1772 these people formed a government known as the Watauga Association. They made a treaty with the Cherokee Indians, organized a republic, framed laws, and elected magistrates. They ordered that no lawyer should be a member of their legislative council, and they despatched justice with rigor and simple effectiveness. A horse thief was captured one day, tried the next, and hanged on the third. They carried on all the functions of statehood with dignity and good sense. They created the first free commonwealth ever formed by men born in America. They paved the way for further settlements and for more complete statehood.

If the nation had divided into two parts in its early days, the line of cleavage would not have been that between North and South. Looking back now we trace certain differences between the Puritan and the Cavalier and think of two different types of life moving westward from Jamestown and from Plymouth Rock. From the time when the slavery

question became a sectional rather than a national issue these differences became marked, and it became easy to trace them back to earlier origins. But the real line of division in the early days was between the East and the new West. Communities that had pushed beyond the confines of civilization sometimes suffered from real or fancied neglect and lack of protection.

It was in 1779 that Daniel Boone first crossed into Kentucky, marking on the banks of the Watauga the tree where "D. Boon cilled a Bar," as we still may read on the bark. In that year the Watauga settlement began. It received a strong accession which gave new character to the inhabitants, after the battle of the Alamance. In that same year a surveyor projected the line between Virginia and North Carolina, and informed the settlers that they were living, not as they supposed, in Virginia, but in North Carolina. Their recent memories of North Carolina were none too pleasant, and their confidence in the future conduct of a government under Tryon and his kind was none of the most secure. So they organized the independent government already noted, and continued to manage their own affairs for a number of years. They elected a representative assembly of thirteen men from the different small settlements about them, and these chose five of their own number as a council or court, having both legislative and judicial functions. Among these five were two men whose strong character impressed itself from the

outset on their companions, and left names of enduring fame, John Sevier and James Robertson. This accomplished all their governmental needs, except that they felt more deeply their isolation and weakness as the years went on. At the time of their separation from North Carolina, they had hoped for separate government under that of England; but the Revolution ended that hope, and the desire as well. In 1776 they sought reunion with North Carolina. The reason was their weakness in the face of the Indians, and perhaps also a desire to ally themselves with their brethren in the struggle for liberty from Great Britain. Certain it is that they gave good account of themselves in that struggle at the battle of Kings Mountain. In the new union with North Carolina the Watauga Association lost its identity, and its territory became Washington County. Kentucky was a county of Virginia. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, with the territory to the north and west, were held by the Indians, and claimed by Great Britain. Spain held Florida, and France owned the great territory of Louisiana and the mouth of the Mississippi.

When the Revolution closed, North Carolina ceded her colonial possessions to the national government, as did Virginia and other of the thirteen states. The representatives of the Watauga settlements agreed to this, but the people themselves rebelled. They had received very little benefit, as they thought, from their relations with North Caro-

lina, and they particularly objected to a provision in the terms of cession by which the national government had two years in which to accept the tender. This, they argued, was to leave them for possibly two years with no government at all, and they had already proved that they could govern themselves. So the Watauga Association revived in "the State of Franklin." The name first proposed by a minister of the Gospel was Frankland, "land of the freemen"; but the draft of the constitution which contained this name was amended so that the name stood Franklin, in honor of Benjamin Franklin. Silver and gold they had none, and they paid their governor in otter skins at six shillings the skin. Even this primitive coinage proved subject to counterfeit; for skins passed around in bundles, and sometimes bundles of skins did duty as legal tender which were, in fact, raccoon skins with otter tails sewed on. This, however, was one of the minor embarrassments which troubled the governor, John Sevier. There was some danger that North Carolina would hang him for treason. Internal strife, too, vexed the little commonwealth. Like Noah's weary dove, they returned again to the ark of North Carolina. But this was only for a little time. In 1788 the state of Franklin ceased to exist, but in 1790 "The Territory Southwest of the Ohio" was organized, and in 1796 the state of Tennessee was admitted to the Union, with John Sevier as its first governor.

This story is worth telling at some length, both for its own historic importance and because it illustrates the significance of the line of cleavage between the old commonwealths and those newly formed beyond the Alleghanies. Had the original colonies continued to hold their Western territories as integral parts of themselves, the ultimate rupture would have occurred, not between North and South, but between East and West. What prevented this was the organization of independent states beyond the mountains.

Kentucky was settled by colonists who crossed the mountains of West Virginia and descended the Ohio, and also, and more especially, by those who followed Boone through Cumberland Gap from old Virginia. No Indians appear to have inhabited Kentucky; it was a hunting-ground for many tribes. With these the settlers had not a few battles, justifying anew the name of Kentucky as "the dark and bloody ground." Not as Kentucky, however, was it first organized, but as "Transylvania," which illustrates anew the emphasis placed upon the idea of separateness by reason of the mountains. The people of the East thought of Kentucky as very far away; but the little group of Kentucky hunters who were encamped near the middle of the state were watching all that happened in the old home, and heard with intensest interest of the outbreak of the Revolution in 1775, and named the spot where they were gathered, Lexington, in honor of that battle, and the name abides to this day. It never seemed so far

back to civilization as it did away from civilization. The man on the frontier thought more of life back in the settlements, and kept in closer touch with the movements there, than the people of the settlements did of the men on the frontier.

Virginia was not over-anxious about the welfare of her daughter. To save herself the trouble and expense of a survey, she established a system of land-titles which permitted every man to be his own surveyor. Kentucky ought to be very grateful for this law, for, while it made no end of trouble, and still makes it, it gave employment to an energetic body of young lawyers, and many of these developed into statesmen. The opportunity denied to lawyers in the beginnings of Tennessee was more than made up by the land system of Kentucky. The spirit of independence burned in these men, and Kentucky even sent a delegate to the Continental Congress, asking that Transylvania be admitted as a sovereign state. Both Virginia and North Carolina were displeased, and the Continental Congress did not seat the delegate. But the spirit of independence in Kentucky did not abate. There were no less than nine conventions in eight years, all looking toward statehood. Somewhat reluctantly, Virginia severed the cord that bound Kentucky to her, and the new state was admitted into the Union, in 1791, the first new state, except Vermont, and the first under the Constitution. The stone which Kentucky sent to be builded into the Washington monument bears

the legend, "Kentucky: she was the first State to enter the Union under the Constitution, and will be the last to leave it."

But Virginia did not wholly lack interest in Kentucky, else one very important chapter in American history might never have been written. That is the story of George Rogers Clark. Clark was a surveyor who went to Kentucky just before the outbreak of the Revolution, and was instrumental in securing the formation of Kentucky as a county of Virginia. He also secured what was quite as much to the purpose: five hundred pounds of powder and permission to defend Kentucky against the British and the Indians. The British were very far away, at Vincennes, Kaskaskia, and Detroit. Returning to Kentucky with his powder, Clark advanced the opinion that the way to defend Kentucky was to drive the British from these distant outposts. On the fourth day of July, 1778, he captured Kaskaskia, and Illinois went over from British to American control. He also captured Vincennes in most dramatic fashion, and, when it was recaptured by the British, he marched his men across the "drowned lands," where water stood up to their armpits, and took it back again. In the War of 1812 we nearly lost this vast domain through the cowardice of one man; but in the Revolution we gained it, and added five stars to the nation's flag by the intrepidity and dauntless ardor of George Rogers Clark. When the war was over, Ohio,

Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, with the right to the upper Mississippi and to the Great Lakes, became the heritage of the undivided nation.

This, then, was the situation at the close of the Revolution. Tennessee and Kentucky were already inhabited, had acquired land from the Indians partly by treaty and partly by conquest, and were well advanced toward statehood. The region beyond the Mississippi belonged to France, and was soon to pass to the United States by the great purchase of 1803. North of the Ohio were fertile plains and virgin forests stretching to the Lakes. They had been occupied by French traders for a hundred and fifty years, but were still awaiting the beginnings of civilization.

Then came the Ordinance of 1787, creating the Northwest territory. The five great states that now occupy this vast domain were still unborn, but the fundamental law of these was anticipated in the Ordinance of 1787. And now arose an interesting and complicated question. If the jealous colonies surrendered to the national government their claims to parts of this dominion, what should be their recompense? Connecticut claimed a strip as wide as her own latitude from Atlantic to Pacific. New York claimed a similar strip, and her claim covered that of Connecticut. Massachusetts, too, had a claim on the new territory, and Virginia, whose claim widened toward the westward, thought that she, too, owned it. Remembering how little land

back from the coast had been valued, it is entirely possible that all these claims were valid under the charters. New York withdrew her claim, in consideration of land for her Revolutionary soldiers. Connecticut accepted a strip as wide as herself and a hundred miles long, reaching back from the Pennsylvania line, and one-third covered by Lake Erie. She did well with the other two-thirds, and, while relinquishing all claim to political control over the territory, she sold the land. In this way Connecticut built up her school funds and also built a "new Connecticut," peopled largely by her own children in northeastern Ohio. Other portions of the state were peopled by Revolutionary soldiers or by those to whom they assigned their military lands, and the several commonwealths that had held conflicting claims and taken compensation in land sent out large colonies. The Marietta colony, founded by Manasseh Cutler and Rufus Putnam, took some of the best blood in Massachusetts to make a new home on the Ohio River, while equally good blood from Virginia flowed past toward the middle of the state to lands awarded to satisfy military warrants. In the rich mixture of Ohio's early blood is to be found the secret, in part at least, of her wide influence in the political history of the nation.

But there was one consideration demanded for the surrender of state claims in the Northwest territory which was of vast significance. Virginia was not to be satisfied with land alone. If she gave up

her right to the Northwest territory, to which her charter entitled her and which her sons had captured, she must have more than financial recompense. So said her representatives, Paul Carrington and Lighthouse Harry Lee. There must be no slavery in the new territory. Massachusetts seconded the demand, and it was conceded. So the Ordinance of 1787 provided that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, should exist in the Northwest territory. So five great commonwealths in their very infancy were dedicated at the shrine of freedom. And the time came when the very words of that Ordinance were grafted bodily upon the national constitution, and Virginia and Massachusetts, who had been at strife, saw the completion of the work which they began together nearly a hundred years before.

The topic restricts the writer to "the opening" of the great West. He is not permitted to tell of its settlement. It would be a fascinating subject. There were perils in the unbroken path of the prairie schooner, perils of Indians and sickness and fathomless mud and cold and accident. Hardy men and noble women were they who peopled the prairies, and subdued the wilderness, and reared, not homes alone, but schools and churches and orderly commonwealths. But the West opened, and other wests opened beyond. The Louisiana Purchase opened one new west, and the Black Hawk War another, and the journey of Marcus Whitman another, and

the discovery of gold another, and the Mexican War another, and the Kansas-Nebraska bill another : and each of these new great wests had its own story, stranger than fiction. The pen of the future historian will delight in recounting this, the mightiest and most hopeful of all the movements of civilization since time began. It would be pleasant to anticipate his narrative, and attempt to view this superb achievement as it will appear to coming generations. But the story must stop here. It is a story full of adventure and achievement, of heroism and of tragedy, but it is a story of progress and construction such as the world has seldom heard, and one impossible in any other land than this.

We return for a moment to the vision of Bishop Berkeley, and find it more than realized, with yet more to hope for. The curtain is to rise on other scenes, of equal significance and of greater power. Whether we ponder on the achievements already accomplished, or look forward to those that are to come, we may repeat again his words : —

“ There shall be sung another golden age,
 The rise of empires and of arts,
 The good and great inspiring epic rage,
 The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

“ Westward the course of empire takes its way ;
 The first four acts already past,
 A fifth shall close the drama with the day ;
 Time’s noblest offspring is the last.”





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